

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PERTAINING TO THE

Leavenworth Expedition of 1823

INTO SOUTH DAKOTA

-FOR THE-

Conquest of the Ree Indians

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY DOANE ROBINSON

**OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LEAVEN
WORTH EXPEDITION INTO SOUTH DAKOTA
IN 1823**

WITH EDITORIAL NOTES BY DOANE ROBINSON

The following are the official letters relating to the expedition of Colonel Henry Leavenworth against the Ree Indians, located six miles north of the mouth of Grand River, on the west bank of the 'Missouri, in 1823. The letters tell the story very fully. The editor acknowledges his obligation to the war department for the text of the letters ; to Mr. Robert E. 'IcDowell, a member of this society, for kind assistance, and to Colonel H. M. Chittenden of the regular army for permission to use, at discretion, the information contained in his valuable and exhaustive history of the American fur trade.'

To a clear understanding of the relations of individual officers to this enterprise, it must be remembered that at that period John C. Calhoun was secretary of war; Major General Jacob Brown was general in chief, with headquarters at Washington; Major General E. I. Gaines was in command of the western department, with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky; Brigadier General Henry Atkinson commanded the right wing of the western department, with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo. ; Colonel Henry Leavenworth commanded the Sixth regiment, with headquarters at Fort Atkinson, sixteen miles north of the present site of Omaha; Benjamin O'Fallon was the government's agent having in charge all of the Indians on the Missouri River, his headquarters, too, being at Fort Atkinson.

Leavenworth to Atkinson

Fort Atkinson,- 18th June, 1823.

Dear Sir: I have just received a letter from General Ash-

ley', giving information of an attack upon his party by the Auricara' Indians, by which it appears that not only the survivors of his party, but many other American citizens, are in the most imminent danger. A copy of the general's letter I herewith enclose, and, also, a copy of an order which I have issued on the subject. I can only add, that we shall leave here for our destination as soon as possible, which I hope will be tomorrow or next (lay). We shall take two six pounders and small swivels, and, perhaps, a howitzer. My party will be about 200 strong in rank and file. If necessary, it is expected that we can raise a considerable auxiliary force amongst the Sioux. We shall do all we can to support the honor of your regiment, and hope, with the blessings of Heaven, to meet the approbation of our superiors and of our country. We go to secure the lives and property of our citizens, and to chastise and correct those who have committed outrages upon them. It will be our endeavor to do this as peaceably as the nature of the circumstances which may occur will admit.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,

Your obedient servant,

-H. Leavenworth, '6th Reg.

Brig. Gen. H. Atkinson,"

Com'g West'n Dept. Louisville, Ky.

Ashley to O'Fallon

On Board the Keel Boat Yellowstone, 25 miles below the Auricara Towns, '4th June, 1823.

Dear Sir: On the morning of the 2d inst. I was attacked by the Auricara Indians, which terminated with great loss on my part. On my arrival there, the 30th of May, I was met very friendly by some of the chiefs, who expressed a great wish that I would stop and trade with them. Wishing to purchase horses to take a party of men to the Yellowstone River, I agreed to comply with their request, and proposed that the chiefs of the two towns would meet me that afternoon on the sand beach, when the price of horses should be agreed upon. After a long consultation among themselves, they made their appearance at the place proposed. I made them a small present and proposed to purchase 40 or 50 horses. They appeared much pleased, and expressed much regret that a difference had taken place between some of their nation and the Americans, alluding to the fray

which recently took place with a party of their men and some of the Missouri Fur Company," which terminated in the loss of two Aricaras, one of whom was the son of the principal chief of one of the two towns. They, however, said that all the angry feelings occasioned by that affray had vanished, and that they considered the Americans as friends, and would treat them as such; that the number of horses I wanted would be furnished me for the price offered.

The next morning we commenced trading, which continued until the evening of the 1st inst., when preparations were made for my departure early the next morning. My party consisted of ninety men, forty of whom were selected to take charge of the horses, and cross the country by land, to the Yellowstone. They were encamped on the bank, within forty yards of the boats.

About half past 3 o'clock in the morning I was informed that one of my men had been killed, and, in all probability, the boat would be immediately attacked. The men were all under arms and so continued until sunrise, when the Indians commenced a heavy and well directed fire, from a line extending along the picketing of their towns, and some broken ground adjoining, about 600 yards in length. The shot were principally directed at the men on the beach, who were making use of the horses as a breastwork. We returned the fire; but, from the advantageous situation of the Indians, done but little execution. Finding their fire very destructive, I ordered the steersmen to weigh their anchors, and lay to shore for the purpose of embarking the men; but notwithstanding I used every measure in my power to have the order executed, it could not effect it. Two skiffs, which would carry thirty men, were taken ashore; but in consequence of a predetermination, on the part of the men on board, not to give way to the Indians as long as they could possibly do otherwise, they (with the exception of seven or eight) would not make use of the skiffs when they had opportunity of doing so. In about fifteen minutes from the time the firing commenced, the surviving part of the men were embarked; nearly all the horses killed or wounded; one of the anchors had been weighed, the cable of the other cut, and the boats dropping down the stream.

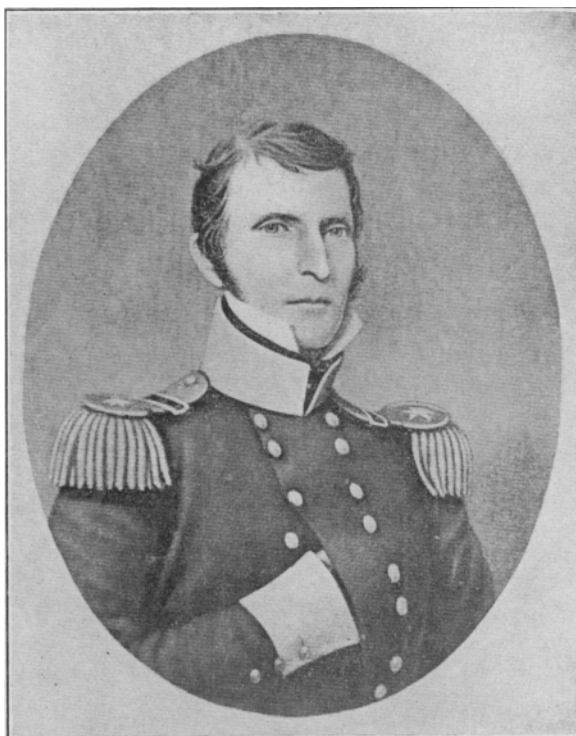
The boatmen, with but few exceptions, were so panic struck that it was impossible to get them to expose themselves to the least danger, indeed, for some time, to move them from their

seats. I ordered the boat landed at the first timber, for the purpose of putting the men and boats in a better situation to pass the villages in safety. «hen my intentions were made known, to my surprise and mortification, I was told by the men (with but few exceptions) that, under no circumstances, would they make a second attempt to pass, without a large reinforcement. Finding that no arguments that I could use would cause them to change their resolution, I commenced making arrangements for the security of my property. The men proposed that if I would descend the river to this place, fortify the boats or make any other defense for their security, they would remain with me until I could receive aid from Major Henry, or from some other quarter. I was compelled to agree to the proposition. On my arrival, I found them as much determined to go lower. A resolution had been formed by the most of them to desert. I called for volunteers to remain with me under any circumstances, until I should receive the expected aid. Thirty only volunteered: among them were but few boatmen ; consequently I am compelled to send one boat hack. After taking a part of her cargo on board of this boat, the balance will be stored at the first fort below. Aiv loss in killed and wounded is as follows!

Killed-john \Matthews, _Jno. Collins, Aaron Steevens (killed at night in the fort), James McDaniel, Westley Piper, George Flage, Benj'n F. Sweed, James Penn, Jr., Jno. Miller, Jno. S. Gardner, Ellis Ogle, David Howard.

Wounded-Reece Gibson (since dead), Joseph. Alonse, John Lawson, Abraham Ricketts, Robert Tucker, Joseph Thompson, Jacob Miller, Daniel McClain, Hugh Glass, August Dufier, Willis (black man).

I do not conceive but two of the wounded in danger. How many of the Indians were killed I am at a loss to say; I think not more than seven or eight four or five men were seen to fall on the beach. I thought proper to communicate this affair as early as an opportunity offered, believing that you would feel disposed to make these people account to government for the outrage committed. Should that be the case, and a force sent for that purpose in a short time, you will oblige me much if you will send me an express, at my own expense, if one can be procured, that I may meet and co-operate with you. From the situation of the Indian towns, it will be difficult for a small force



Gen. Henry Leavenworth

to oust them without a six-pounder. The towns are newly picketed in, with timber from six to eight inches thick, twelve to fifteen feet high, dirt in inside thrown up about eighteen inches. They front the river, and, immediately in front of them, is a large sand bar, forming nearly two-thirds of a circle, at the head of which (where the river is very narrow) they have a breastwork, made of dry wood. The ground on the opposite side of the river is high and commanding. They have about 600 warriors, I suppose, three-fourths of them are armed with London fuzils, others with bows and arrows, war axes, &c., &c.

I expect to hear from Major Henry" (to whom I sent an express) in twelve or fifteen days. During that time I shall remain between this place and the Aricara towns, not remaining any length of time in one place, as my force is small, not more than twenty-three effective.

Your friend and obedient servant,

-W. H. Ashley.

On board the boat that descends are five wounded men. Any assistance that you can afford them, I will feel under obligations to you for.

A true copy

-H. Leavenworth,

Colonel Commanding 6th regiment.

Directed to Major B. O'Fallon," Indian Agent, or to the commanding officer at Fort Atkinson.

Leavenworth's Orders to Go to Ashley's Relief

Headquarters, 6th Infantry, Fort Atkinson, 18th June, 1823. Orders.

The colonel commanding has to announce to his command, that the Aricara Indians have attacked a party of Americans under the command of Gen. Wm. Ashley, Lt. Governor of the state of Missouri, who had a regular license from the government of the United States," agreeably to the laws of congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians. Fourteen of General Ashley's party have been killed and nine wounded. The lives of more than one hundred American citizens, now in the Indian country, are in the most imminent danger. Gen. Ashley, and about thirty men of his party, still bravely remain in the face of their savage enemy, and the general asks for as-

sistance. The colonel commanding deems it his duty to afford assistance to the survivors, and to chastise those Indians for the outrage which they have committed. And on this subject, there is the most perfect coincidence of opinion between the colonel commanding and Maj. Benjamin O'Fallon, the United States agent for Indian affairs on the Missouri. The colonel commanding is sure of the zealous co-operation and efficient support of Maj. O'Fallon, and the officers generally of the regiment which he has the honor to command.

Companies A, B, D, E, F and G will be prepared, as soon as possible, to march at a moment's warning. After the departure of the colonel commanding, the command of the residue of the regiment of the post will devolve upon Major Foster.' It is hoped and expected that the most zealous exertions will be made by every individual of the regiment, left here, to save the crops, and preserve the public property. In Major Foster's zeal and efficiency, and those generally who will remain, the colonel commanding has the fullest confidence. He is aware that their duties will be arduous, perhaps more so than those who will ascend the river. If any glory should be acquired, the regiment generally will share it ; if those who ascend the river are unfortunate, they must bear it alone.

The acting post quartermaster will immediately engage the keel boat called the Yellow Stone Packet, and her patroon, and as many of the efficient men with her as practicable. In case she succeeds in engaging the boat, her cargo will be immediately stored. One of the public boats will be selected and immediately put in good order to ascend the river. A future order will be given on the subject of ammunition and subsistence.

-H. Leavenworth, Colonel Commanding.

Foster to Atkinson

Fort Atkinson, July 8, 1823.

Sir: Since I wrote you at the end of last month, I received a letter from Col. Leavenworth dated on the 4th inst. two miles above Caball Bluffs,' informing me that he had the misfortune to lose Lieut. Wickliff's" boat, Sergeant Stackpole," and six privates, drowned; he writes in haste, giving no particulars; but says that the principal part of the cargo was saved; that he was

under way and all well; he put that part of the cargo saved on board of the other boats and those of Mr. Pilcher.

I learnt from the two men who were the bearers of the colonel's letter, that the boat broke into two across a snag, of course she must have sunk; the men were from Major Henry, and informed that Gen. Ashley was upon an island, about 100 miles below the Ricara villages. I write hastily by the boat which leaves here today, fearing an erroneous report should reach you.

-Wm. S. Foster, Major U. S. Army.

Gen. Atkinson.

Atkinson to Gaines

Headquarters Right Wing Western Department, St. Louis,

August 15, 1823.

Sir: I have received some unofficial information from the expedition under Colonel Leavenworth, as late as the 19th ultimo, by a letter addressed to Colonel O'Fallon from General Ashley, an extract of which is enclosed herewith.

A Mr. Smith, who came down with the proceeds of the trappers and hunters of General Ashley, from the mouth of the Yellowstone, gives also some verbal views, to the following effect, viz: He left the Yellowstone with Mr. Henry, with all the party under him, except twenty men left at the mouth of the Yellowstone-proceeded to join General Ashley at the mouth of the Shyan River. On passing the Ricara village the Ricaras came down on the beach and invited them in a friendly manner, by signs with buffalo robes, to land. Major Henry, knowing the deception they were attempting to practice upon him, for the purpose of getting him in their power, proceeded down the river without holding any intercourse with them.

Mr. Smith informs me that Colonel Leavenworth was progressing on very well and expected to accomplish the object of his movement.

-H. Atkinson,

Brigadier General United States Army.

Maj. Gen. Gaines, &c.

Ashley to O'Fallon

Extract of a letter from General Ashley to Colonel O'Fallon, dated at Fort Hrasaux,^o July 19, 1823:

"I remained at, and in the neighborhood of, the mouth of the Shyanne river until Major Henry joined me. We then concluded that, should troops be sent tip the river this year to fight the Ricaras, that they would not ascend until fall, when it would be too late to do anything in our business this year. Accordingly we concluded to drop down to the mouth of the Teton river, and, if possible, purchase as many horses as would enable us to fit out the party intended to be sent to the Columbia. Understanding that the Sioux Indians were in the neighborhood, I came here a few days since to get horses from them. To my great satisfaction on my arrival I was informed of the approach of Colonel Leavenworth with two hundred men. He will pass this place today with his command. I leave here this evening for my camp, which is about one hundred and twenty miles above, and will have things ready to join him with eighty men by the time he reaches that point. Some of the gentlemen of the Missouri Fur Company have joined him with forty men; from four to five hundred Sioux Indians are encamped about twenty miles above this waiting the colonel's arrival, and intend co-operating with him. Our whole force will be about eight hundred men, which will be sufficient to destroy the greater part of the Ricaras, in a very short time after reaching their towns, should they not escape before that time. It is said that they have proposed to the Mandans" to permit them to move up and live with them, which it is supposed the Mandans will consent to, but, if so, very contrary to the wishes of the Grosventres."

"-W. H. Ashley."

Leavenworth to O'Fallon

Fort Recovery," July 21, 1823.

Dear Major: Your favor of the 10th inst. I have this moment received, and I assure you, with great pleasure. I was highly gratified that Majors Wooley^{2o} and Ketchum' came on to join us. Mr. Pilcher I have requested to write you fully as to Indian affairs ; and he is so much better informed than myself, that I shall leave that subject principally to him. He is, I find, very efficient, and has conducted greatly to my satisfaction.

These Yanctons seem to be zealously determined to cooperate with us, but I have some doubts as to the continuance of their ardor. We have been obliged to make a halt here of three (lays, to wait for Mr. Pilcher and to repair damages sustained from wind and water. After so many disasters, I am happy to inform you that we are yet efficient, perhaps as much so as when we set out. Our powder was miraculously preserved -several casks, which were under water all night were entirely uninjured. I have borrowed ten rifles of Mr. Pilcher, and can have twenty-three more of Gen. Ashley, but eight only are necessary to complete-powder and lead I can obtain in ample quantities. If the Ricaras and Mandans unite, I shall proceed to the Mandans; and, if they keep the Ricaras in the village, shall attack them. We shall do our best to obtain a victory. The honor of the American arms must be supported at all events. But I can plainly perceive our force is not sufficient to inspire that degree of awe and respect among the Indians which I would wish. We make but a small show, on a large prairie, by the side of 4 or 500 mounted Indians. If we can obtain a fair fight, our superiority will probably be more apparent.

As I have to write on the ground in a heavy wind, I fear you will not be able to read my letter. You will, however, have the goodness to excuse inaccuracies, and my want of time and means to send you a fair copy.

I am, dear sir, truly,

your friend and servant,

-H. Leavenworth,

Colonel, U. S. Army.

Maj. Il. O'Fallon.

Pilcher to O'Fallon

Fort Recovery, Upper Missouri, 23(1 July, 1823.

Dear Sir: From. the following extract of a letter from Air. William Gordon, - a young gentleman in the service of the Missouri Fur Company, and attached to our Mountaineers, you will see that they have been defeated and the chiefs of the expedition, Mr. Immel and Mr. Jones,` have both been slain. The extracts from Mr. Keemle's" letters will show the disposition and feelings of the Mandans and Grosventres, produced by the late success of the Ricaras against General Ashley; and the whole will, I

hope, tend to show the importance of Colonel Leavenworth's expedition against the Ricaras. If protection to the commerce of the Missouri be the object of our government, this would seem to be the accepted time; a decisive blow is indispensable for the safety of every white man on the river above the Council Bluffs," and even to the troops stationed at that post. But I need not dwell upon this subject; you know too well the importance of this movement.

The following is an extract from Mr. Gordon's letter, dated
Fort Vanderburgh, Mandan and Grosventre's Villages,

June 15, 1823.

Dear Sir: It becomes my unpleasant duty to inform you of the defeat of our party by the Black Foot Indians, and of the dire consequences of the same. After penetrating to the Three Forks of the Missouri early in the spring, although we found that country almost entirely trapt out by the Indians, we had succeeded, by the greatest perseverance, in taking about packs of beaver. On the 16th of May, having reached the Upper Three Forks of R. Jefferson's river, and finding no beaver in that quarter, we commenced a retrograde march for the Yellow Stone. On the second day we fell in with a party of 38 Black Foot Indians. They came up boldly and smoked, and remained with us during that night, making every profession of friendship; and, in the morning, after making them presents of such articles as we could spare, they parted with us apparently well satisfied, having first invited us to come and establish at the mouth of the Maria river, as they said they had been informed was our intention. They were in possession of every information in regard to the two boats being at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and of their determination to ascend the Missouri to the Falls. This information must have been derived from the British traders, who have most probably instigated them to commit this outrage, and by them, no doubt, from some faithful correspondent at St. Louis. We did not suffer ourselves, however, to be lulled into false ideas of security by their friendly professions, but commenced a direct and precipitate retreat from the country, keeping out strict regard (guard) every night, and using every possible vigilance at all times. This party of 38 had returned to their village, which was very close, and recruited to the number of between 3 and 400 men. These had intercepted us on the Yellow Stone, where they arrived two days before us. They lay in ambush for us on the side of a steep hill, the base of which was washed by the river, along which we had to pursue the intricate windings of a buffalo trace, among rocks, trees, &c. by means of which they had secreted themselves. At this place the men were, of course, much scattered for a considerable distance, as

two horses could not pass abreast. At this unfortunate moment, and under circumstances so disadvantageous, they rushed upon us with the whole force, pouring down from every quarter. Messrs. Immel and Jones both fell early in the engagement. A conflict, thus unequal, could not be long maintained. The result was the loss of five other men killed, four wounded, the entire loss of all our horses and equipage, traps, beaver and everything. The balance of the party succeeded in escaping, by making a raft and crossing the Yellow Stone. This took place on the 31st of May, just below the mountains on the Yellow Stone. Not knowing to what extent the loss of the horses, traps, &c might effect (affect) any future plan of operations I came with all possible expedition to this place, to acquaint you with the circumstance. I left Mr. Keemle and the party near the mouth of Pryor's Fork, making skin canoes to bring down the fall's hunt, amounting to about . Four of Mr. Henry's men have also been killed near the falls. It appears from information derived from the Black Feet themselves, that the British have two trading houses in their country on the American territory; and, from some Snake Indians, we learned that they have several on the south fork of the Columbia. Something decisive should be done.

Believe me to be your sincere friend,

William Gordon.

From the foregoing letter, you will perceive that the commerce of the Missouri under existing circumstances, however valuable, is truly precarious. This, our second adventure to the mountains, had surpassed my most sanguine expectations; success had been complete, and my views fulfilled in every respect. Mr. Immel and Mr. Jones had conducted those expeditions with the greatest skill and ability, and proved themselves worthy of my confidence. The loss of property is severely felt, yet it is little, compared to the loss of those valuable men, to whom I stand indebted for the accomplishment of my views. In consequence of their late departure, last summer, from the Council Bluffs, it became necessary for them to confine their operations last fall to the Yellow Stone and its tributary waters, and winter at the mouth of the Big Horn. The party originally consisted of forty-three persons, including themselves and Messrs. Gordon and Keemle, two young gentlemen attached to the expedition, and to whom I am much indebted for their activity in bringing off the remainder of the party, and securing the property of the expedition, which had been left on the Yellow Stone at the time the expedition moved to the three forks early in the spring. The party had been reduced to thirty, including all; a

part of the men having deserted front their wintering post at the Big Horn. With these they penetrated the country as mentioned in Mr. Gordon's letter. I am happy to say their defeat is not to be attributed to negligence, mistaken confidence of their own ability, or the good will of the Indians. Three hours more would have taken them to the Crow nation where they would have been perfectly secure; this tribe being at war with the Black Feet, and much attached to the whites. But the Blackfeet had marked their route; they knew their country and the advantages of the position selected by them for the attack; there they intercepted them and awaited their arrival. Nothing but defeat could be expected under the circumstances, and it is wonderful how any should escape from such an overwhelming force, when attacked in such an unfavorable position. Many circumstances justify the opinions expressed in Mr. Gordon's letter, which I will hereafter relate; time will not allow me to do so at present.

Mr. Keemle arrived at the Mandans in a short time after Mr. Gordon left him on the Yellow Stone, and, in a letter to me, under date of the 10th of the present month, which met me at this place, he expresses himself as follows: "permit me, sir, here to remark, that the present affair with the Ricaras is the subject of daily conversation with the Grosventres and Mandans; and I am of opinion, from many remarks made by the principal men of both nations, that much of the future welfare and interest of the persons engaged in the business of the Missouri, depends much upon the course of conduct pursued towards that band of savage villains." In another letter from him of the 11th instant, conveyed by the same hand, he gives me the following information : "A council was held by the Mandans on the 10th instant, in which they have determined to send for the Ricaras to enter their village, in order to protect them, as they say, from the whites. A singular (similar) proposition was made to the Grosventres by the former nation, but they shut their ears against it." The Aricaras opened fire on the men who came express with these letters, and continued it until they had got beyond their reach, though they did not succeed in hurting either of them. From these circumstances you may suppose that the future conduct and disposition of all those upper tribes, even the Sioux, depend much on the steps taken in relation to

the Aricaras. There are many opinions respecting the course the Aricaras will take. My own impressions are, that they will not abandon their villages, but will await the arrival of the expedition, and give us battle. Many things induce a belief that they will not attempt to go to the Mandans for protection. About twelve days will decide it. The expedition left this place early this morning.

The foregoing circumstances, together with many other causes, will induce me to change the destination of our mountain men this fall. If time would justify the attempt, I would endeavor to push the expedition across the mountains to some of the southern branches of the Columbia, but the season is too far advanced.

I am, dear sir, &c.

-Joshua Pilcher,"

A. P. Missouri Fur Company.

Major B. O'Fallon, U. S. Agent for Indian Affairs.

Leavenworth to the Ricaras

Head Quarters, Missouri Legion,

Ricaras Towns, August 14, 1823.

Colonel Leavenworth, commanding the 6th regiment, to the

Chiefs and Warriors of the Ricaras nation of Indians,

Greeting

Ricaras:

You see the pipe of peace which you gave to ine, in the hands of Mr. Charlonnau,-' and the flag of the United States.

These will convince you that my heart is not bad. Your villages are in my possession; come back and take them in peace, and you will find everything as you left them. You shall not be hurt if you do not obstruct the road or molest the traders. If you do not come back there are some bad men and some bad Indians who will burn your villages. Come back, and come quickly. Be assured that what I say is the truth.

-H. Leavenworth,

Colonel U. S. Army.

SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
Leavenworth's Orders on Return of Expedition

Head Quarters, 6th Infantry,
Fort Atkinson, 29th August, 1823.

Orders

The Colonel Commanding is happy to announce to his command, that the objects of the late expedition against the Ricaras Indians have been effected. The blood of our countrymen have been honorably avenged, the Ricaras humbled, and in such a manner as will teach them, and other Indian tribes, to respect the American name and character.

In effecting these objects, the duties which have been performed by every part of the regiment, as well those left at this post, as those who ascended the river, have been arduous in the extreme; but those duties have been performed with a zeal, cheerfulness, and efficiency, which is highly honorable to them, and which entitles them to the approbation of their country.

Where all have done well, and all have been zealous to contribute their whole and entire power to promote the public service, it is as delicate as it is difficult to mention individual instances; but that the combination of circumstances has enabled some to perform more than others, cannot be doubted. The colonel commanding has been highly gratified with the promptness and alacrity manifested by Major Wooley and Brevet Major Ketchum, in joining the expedition, and equally so with their subsequent conduct.

"The efficiency of Capt. Armstrong's" company, and energies of his men, have been preserved in an eminent degree. The captain has manifested his usual skill in the management of his company, and has given every reason to place the greatest confidence in the physical strength and force of his company; in this respect he has satisfied his commanding officer.

With Captain Riley," the colonel commanding has been highly pleased; he has been skillful, discreet, and successful in the management of his men and the boat, and the public property committed to his charge. His efficiency and promptness in the execution of orders has been conspicuous and highly honorable to him.

Doctor Gale' has not only performed his duty to the entire satisfaction of the commandant, but he has done more-he has frequently volunteered his services to perform important duties,

and particularly in saving the property in the large boat when she was sunk by a severe storm at night; lie effected much, and in a manner highly gratifying to all who knew the circumstances. Although Lieutenant Wickliffe had the misfortune to lose the boat which was committed to his charge, it has been evident that his zeal for the good of the public service has been equal to that of any other gentleman with the expedition.

In every situation in which Lt. Bradley has been placed, lie has given entire satisfaction, and would, no doubt, had lie been put to a more severe trial.

To the gentlemen of the staff, generally, the commandant returns his thanks. Lieutenant Cruger" has performed the duties of quartermaster and assistant commissary in the most correct and acceptable manner; and, in addition, rendered important service by volunteering his services as an extra adjutant to the Missouri Legion during our operations.

Lieut. Noel,- in discharging the duty of Adjutant, has given the most entire satisfaction, and the fullest evidence of his ability to perform still more important service.

It has fallen to the lot of Lieut. Morris" to perform the most important duties; and lie has done so in a manner which cannot be too highly commended. When our boats were lost, and much of our ammunition either lost or damaged in a great degree, we found it replaced, and well prepared by the activity and attention of Lieut. Morris, and that, too, without delaying the expedition a single hour. The lieutenant's management and direction of the artillery would have (lone honor to a master of the trade.

The men who were attached to the artillery have deserved notice and the approbation of their country. They have that of the colonel commanding, in a high degree, particularly Sergeants Lathrop and Perkins, the former of whom, with one of the six pounders, made very superior shots.

The colonel commanding cannot dismiss the subject, without again mentioning his very great satisfaction with the gallant and honorable conduct of General Ashley and his brave and hardy little corps of mountaineers. Although for several clays entirely destitute of subsistence, they persevered in "noble dar-

ing" without a murmur. The colonel commanding only regrets that he can offer them nothing more substantial than his thanks.

-H. Leavenworth,
Col. Commanding.

Leavenworth's Preliminary Report on Expedition

Head Quarters, 6th Regiment,

Fort Atkinson, August 30, 1823.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the troops who lately visited the Ricara towns, returned to this post on the 27th instant.

We arrived before the Ricara towns on the 9th of the present month. The Sioux Indians who were with us, were ried by the Ricaras a short distance from their towns, and a skirmish took place between them. The Ricaras maintained their ground, or rather drove the Sioux back, until the regular troops, and General Ashley's men arrived, and formed their line. The Ricaras were then driven immediately into their own town. The Sioux were so much scattered in front of the troops that the latter were unable to deliver their fire without killing some of the Sioux, and therefore did not fire.

Our boats arrived subsequently, during the evening of the 9th, and our artillery was disembarked. On the morning of the 10th Capt. Riley, with a company of riflemen, and Lieut. Bradley, with a company of infantry, were ordered to take possession of a hill above the upper village. They immediately took a position there, within one hundred steps from the town, and in a position which screened them from the fire of the enemy from the towns. At the same moment Lieut. Morris, with one six pounder and a five and one-half brass howitzer, commenced an attack in the lower town. Sergeant Perkins, with one six pounder, was sent to report to 'Mr. A% Vanderburgh,~' of the Missouri Fur Company. This six pounder was placed above the upper village. A brisk fire was continued upon the towns until 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Sioux were in the mean-while, busily engaged in gathering and carrying off the corn of the Ricaras.

At 8 o'clock, Major Ketchum was also ordered to the upper village with his company. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, the six pounder, and the troops opposed to the upper village, were with-

drawn and our whole force concentrated below the lower village, and the troops ordered to form for the purpose of collecting corn for their own use, as General Ashley's men had then been destitute of provisions for two days.

At this time, a party of Sioux and a party of Ricaras, both on horseback, were discovered holding a parley on the hill beyond the upper town. It was also discovered that the Sioux were going off, though they had given no intimation of an intention to do so. The Ricaras sent out and begged for peace. They said that the first shot from our cannon had killed the celebrated Chief, called "Grey Eyes," who caused all the mischief, and that we had killed a great many of their people and of their horses. They were evidently very much terrified, and completely humbled. Being convinced of this, and supposing that the government would be better pleased to have those Indians corrected than exterminated, and, as the Sioux, amounting to about seven or eight hundred warriors, had left us in a very strange and unaccountable manner, it was thought best, under all the circumstances of the case, to listen to the solicitations of the Ricaras for peace, especially as it was understood that our round shot were nearly all expended; consequently a treaty was made with them, a copy of which is enclosed. In making this treaty I met with every possible difficulty which it was in the power of the Missouri Fur Company to throw in my way; and, as Mr. Pilcher, their acting partner, had been appointed as special Sub-Agent, to raise the Sioux against the Ricaras, he was able to give me great trouble.

In restoring to General Ashley the property taken, it was thought that the Indians did not perform their engagements on that subject as well as they were able to do, and they were threatened with an attack. Their principal Chief, (The Little Soldier,) came to us, and begged permission to withdraw his family from the village before we attacked, and he gave us the most conclusive evidence of his friendly disposition toward us. It was now late on the afternoon of the 12th. The 10th and 11th having been spent in action and in negotiation and interchanging visits, our men frequenting the towns for the purpose of trading for mockasins, &c., and the Indians manifesting every symptom of having been thoroughly brought to a sense of their

interest and duty, it was concluded to postpone the attack until morning, and the troops were dismissed from parade.

It had been ascertained by me, that the Indians had been so much alarmed by our threatening to again attack them, that they would probably run away and leave their villages. This, it was thought, would have an unfortunate effect upon the Indians, and make them more inclined to commit depredations upon the traders ; and, as the Little Soldier soon after sent out for General Ashley a few more buffalo robes, with a message that he could not possibly do more, and begging that we would have pity on them, I sent him word that I would not attack them ; that it was not their property that we wanted; to make his people feel safe, and conduct themselves well and they should not be hurt.

Early on the morning of the 13th, we found the Ricaras had left their towns during the night.

Major Ketchum, with his company, and Company E, commanded by Lieut. Bradley and Licut. Morris, with one six pounder, were ordered to take possession of the towns, and to stiffer not the least article to be taken away, or the towns to be injured. A message was sent to call back the Indians, if possible, and induce them to take possession of the towns, but they could not be found. It was evident that our artillery had been served with very great effect. The towns had been completely riddled. We found thirty-one new graves, and we found that several old ones had been opened, and the surface set thick with prickly pears to conceal the new dirt. We know that ten men, who were killed by the Sioux in the skirmish on the 9th, were buried in five graves ; and we know also, that more than one was buried in several of the other graves. From the best evidence which we could collect it is supposed that more than fifty of their people were killed, and a great number wounded. Our messengers returned on the evening of the 14th, without having been able to find the Ricaras.

On the morning of the 15th we placed the mother of the late Chief, "Grey Eyes" (an aged and infirm woman, whom they had left in their flight) in one of the principal lodges of the lower village, gave her plenty of provisions and water, and left her in quiet possession of the towns and the property left by the Indians, except some corn, which had been taken for the sub-

sistence of the men. At about 10 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the troops were embarked to descend the river, and our guard withdrawn, and every soul removed from the villages, except the woman before mentioned. All the boats were got under way nearly at the same time.

Before we were out of sight of the towns, we had the mortification to discover them to be on fire.

There is no doubt that they have been consumed to ashes. Nor is there any doubt but that they were set on fire by one M'Donald, a partner, and one Gordon, a clerk of the Missouri Fur Company.

If the nation has been deprived of the advantages which might have resulted from the magnanimity of her troops towards a fallen and humbled enemy, it is chargeable to that company, or to those individuals who set the towns on fire. Had not this been done, there is no room to doubt but that the Ricara Indians would in future have behaved as well towards our countrymen as any other Indians on the river. It is now my deliberate opinion that those Indians will be excited to further hostilities if in the power of the Missouri Fur Company to effect it. It is understood that the company have withdrawn their trade from above the Sioux country. Not so with Messrs. Ashley and Henry; they have a small number of men and a large amount of property at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, and they were deeply interested in the correction and pacification of the Ricaras. Their zeal and efficiency in aiding to chastise those Indians, was conspicuous and highly honorable, and could have been excelled by nothing but the zeal of the Missouri Fur Company to prevent the pacification of them after they were chastised and humbled into the dust.

We found the Ricara Indians in two villages: the lower one containing seventy-one dirt lodges, and the upper village seventy dirt lodges; each village was enclosed with palisades or pickets, and a ditch; and the greater part of the lodges had a ditch around the bottom on the inside. These works, however, had been represented to be much stronger than we found them to be.

During our operations we sustained no loss in men, and had but two wounded : Hugh Johnson, of Gen. Ashley's command, and Smith, a private of Major Ketchum's company.

Our officers and men have returned in fine health and spirits, and it is well: for those who left here are nearly all sick. Capt. Fowle arrived here with 85 men (recruits) on the 28th instant.

Our spring wheat has done well, and all our crops are very good. No material losses will be sustained by our absence. In ascending the river, we lost one boat, and seven men drowned, and had another boat sunk by a storm. We lost one swivel and some ammunition and some provisions. A particular account of which shall be forwarded, together with a statement of every item of expense."

I have been highly gratified with the officers and men of the regiment, and also with General Ashley, and his command of eighty men, and intend to do myself the honor to make a more detailed and circumstantial account of all our proceedings, and of what was done by each, and hope that what has been done will meet the approbation of our superior officers, and of the government.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

-H. Leavenworth,

Colonel, commanding 6th regiment.

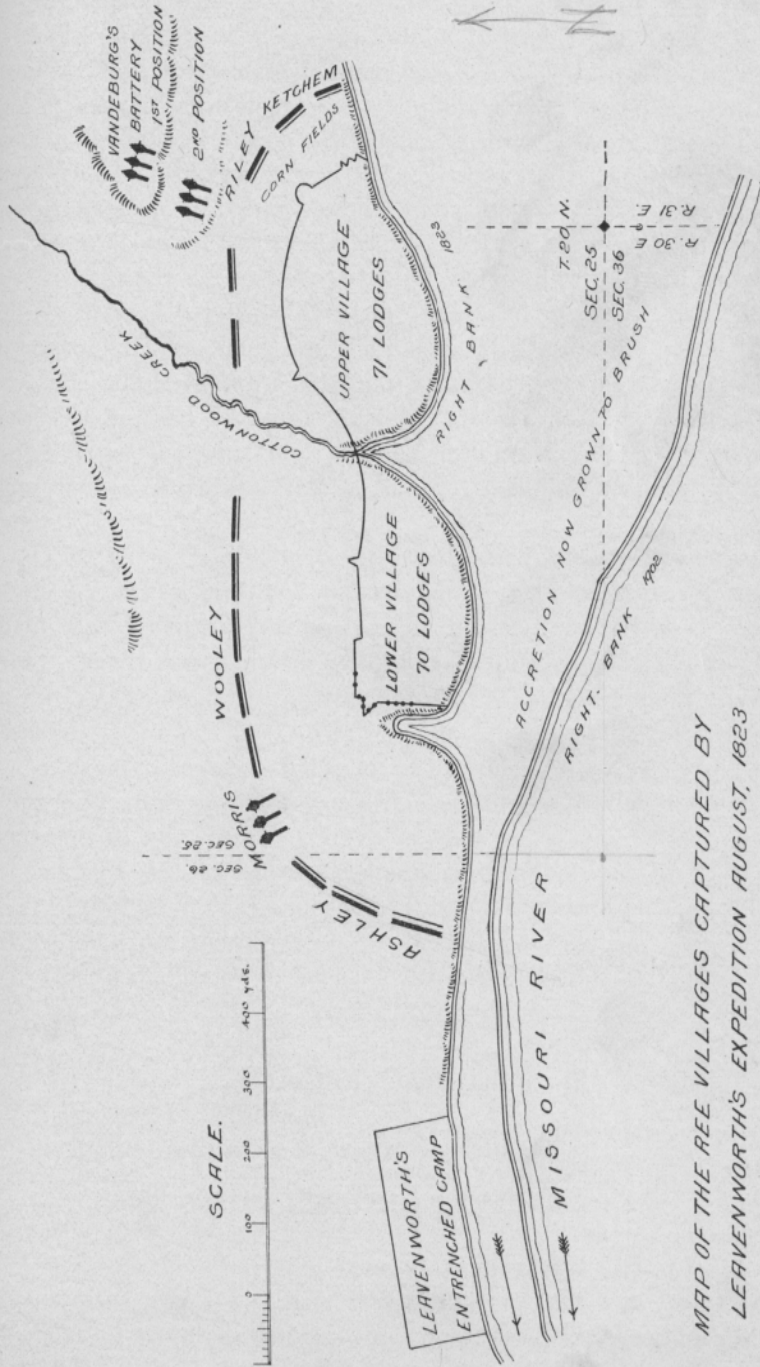
Leavenworth to Atkinson

Fort Atkinson, Sept. 7, 1823.

Dear Sir: I feel it to be a duty to recommend to the particular notice of the government, Captain Riley and First Lieutenant W. W. Morris, for their good conduct and efficiency during the late expedition against the Aricaras.

Captain Riley has done all that any man could do, and, by his skill and good management, saved much of the public property. He has performed every duty in that prompt and soldierlike manner, which is so well calculated to ensure success and honor to our arms, and which has greatly contributed to our success.

His conduct was, also, highly distinguished for gallantry and correctness, during our late war with Great Britain, and undoubtedly merited the approbation of his country. It is hoped and believed, that the government will be happy to take this opportunity to do him justice, in manifesting their approbation



MAP OF THE REE VILLAGES CAPTURED BY
LEAVENWORTH'S EXPEDITION AUGUST, 1823

Map of Ree Towns, Showing Leavenworth's Camp and Disposition of His Forces

of his good conduct, by conferring on him the brevet rank of major in their army.

The services of Lieut. Morris were highly important, and they were performed in the best possible manner. His activity and cleverness in preparing our ammunition, greatly contributed to the success of the expedition. In the management of our artillery, he was extremely fortunate. His shots were made with the greatest accuracy and effect. His first shot killed the celebrated and mischievous chief of the Aricara nation, called Grey Eyes; and his second shot cut down the flag of that nation, which they called their Medicine flag, and in which they had great confidence. This had the happiest effect.

The whole of the Lieutenant's conduct, during the expedition, was marked by the greatest skill, promptness and efficiency, and I hope most sincerely, that he may receive evidence of the approbation of the country, in the brevet rank of captain in the army.

Lieutenants Bradley, Cruger and Noel, have deserved well of their country, and it would afford me great pleasure to have them also receive evidence of the approbation of the government; but it was not their good fortune to have an opportunity to render as important services as either Captain Riley or Licut. Morris.

I have to request that you will be pleased to forward this communication, through the proper channel, to the honorable secretary of war.

Should my intermediate superiors think proper to express their approbation of the measures herein recommended, it would afford me great pleasure to have them do so.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

-H. Leavenworth,

Colonel, Commanding 6th Regiment.

To Brig. Gen. H. Atkinson,

Com'g right wing Western Department.

Kirby to Gaines

Adjutant General's Office,

Washington, 10th Oct., 1823.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your

communication of the asst ult., and its enclosures, detailing the operations of Colonel Leavenworth's party against the Ricara Indians.

These papers have been submitted to the General in chief, who directs me to express to you his high satisfaction with the success of the expedition, and his approbation of the conduct of Colonel Leavenworth and his officers, to whom he desires you to convey his thanks for the zeal and activity which they have displayed upon this occasion.

The destruction of the Ricara villages is very much to be regretted, as tending to counteract the good effect of the expedition, and on many other accounts; but the general is happy to observe, that neither the commanding officer, nor any part of the troops of the United States, is liable to censure for that occurrence, as it appears to have been the act of the agent of the Missouri Fur Company, who, he is sorry to perceive, so illly seconded the efforts of Colonel Leavenworth to bring the affair to a successful and amicable termination. He is, at the same time, pleased to notice the good understanding and co-operation which existed between General Ashley's party and the troops, which contributed to the successful result.

It is deemed unadvisable to take any further steps at present toward chastising the Black Foot Indians for the outrages which they have committed. The general therefore directs, that, if the six companies of the first infantry on the Missouri have not yet ascended the river, they be posted at Belle Fontaine till further orders, and that the four companies of that regiment at Baton Rouge remain where they are.

Should Colonel Chambers have proceeded to Council Bluffs, lie will remain there through the winter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

-E. Kirby,
Aid-de-Camp.

Note.-Your communication to the War Department, of the 22d ult. has been referred to the Major General, who directs me to say, the views contained in the foregoing letter have the sanction of the president.

-E. Kirby.

Maj. Gen. Gaines,

Com. Western Department, U. S. A.

Kirby to Gaines

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, November 8, 1823.

Sir: I am directed by the General in Chief to inform you, that your communication to the War Department, of the 16th ultimo, has been submitted to the president, who has decided, that, though he highly appreciates the meritorious conduct of the officers engaged in the expedition against the Ricarae Indians, yet, for various considerations, he deems it inexpedient to confer any brevets for services rendered upon that occasion.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
-E. Kirby, Aid-de-Camp.

Major Gen. Gaines,
Commanding Eastern Department U. S. A.
Louisville, Ky.

Leavenworth's Final and Detailed Report

Head Qrs., 6th Regiment,
Fort Atkinson, October 20th, 1823.

Sir

In addition to my communication dated the 30th August last, I now have the honor to make the following minute and circumstantial report
On the 18th of June last Major B. O'Fallon, United States Indian Agent at this place, shewed to me a letter, from Genl. Wm. H. Ashley, directed to him, as the Commanding Officer at this post, informing that the Aricara* Indians had attacked his party, at their towns on the Missouri river and had killed four teen and wounded twelve of his men; and asking for assistance.

It became my duty to decide whether Genl. Ashley should be supported by the United States troops at this post or not. General Atkinson then in command of the Western Department

*Note by Colonel Leavenworth. This name has been printed in the excellent journal of Lewis and Clarke Riccara. But as those Indians clearly commence the word with the sound of the vowel A, and pronounce the word as we should if it were written A-ree-ka-ra, I have taken the liberty to add the letter A to the orthography of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke in that word-presuming that letter was omitted in that word by a typographical error.

was at Louisville, Kentucky.-The time which would be required to receive instructions from that place would render it entirely too late to be of any service to Genl. Ashley. And it also appeared to be desirable and proper that whatever was done, should be done promptly.

On my being transferred to the 6th Regiment I had omitted to take a copy of the instructions to the Commanding Officer at this post that were handed to me by Genl. Atkinson, because I believed them to be substantially the same, as I received in 1820, after the establishment of the Military post at St. Peters⁸⁷ on the Mississippi in 1819. From those instructions I beg leave to send you the following extracts, viz :

"I now proceed to give, agreeably to your request, such instructions as appear to me to be necessary for your government, observing however that much must be left to your prudence and discretion in which great confidence is placed.

"The military movement which has been made tip the Mississippi under your command, was ordered for the establishment of posts, to effect two great objects-the enlargement and protection of the fur trade, and permanent peace of our North western frontier by securing a decided control over the various tribes of indians in that quarter. These objects will indicate the policy which ought to be pursued. To such of our citizens who may conform to the laws and regulations in relation to Indian trade and intercourse, you will extend kindness and protection. In relation to foreign traders who by the Act of Congress are entirely excluded, your conduct in the first instance must be governed by a sound discretion, to be exercised in each case. No decisive step ought perhaps, to be taken untill your posts are fully established and you feel yourself secure against the effects of hostilities, at which time notice ought to be given that after a fixed period you will rigidly exclude all trade by foreigners and such as are not authorized by law.

"Of the two great objects in view, the permanent security of our frontier is considered by far the greatest importance and will especially claim your attention. If practicable you will gain the confidence and friendship of all the Indian tribes with whom you may have any intercourse. To prevent hostility on the part of the Indians they ought to be fully impressed with our capacity to avenge any injury which they may offer us, and it is no less

mained at my quarters until the 23d, when I joined my command about six miles from this place by land and fifteen by water.

The river being very high, the navigation was exceedingly difficult and hazardous. The cordelle was the only means by which the boats could be propelled, and to do this the men were obliged to be continually in the mud and water.

The boats were so heavily laden that it was with some difficulty that all the men could be embarked even to cross the river, notwithstanding we had put nine barrels of pork into the small barge used here as a ferry boat and manned her with a sergeant and twelve men. This small boat we found very useful on many occasions.

All the men not required to navigate the boats were (the first day) placed under command of Lieuts. Bradly and Morris and marched by land. The river bottoms were so much inundated that those gentlemen and their men were frequently compelled to swim and wade through the water waist deep.

The expedition this day, under the direction of Capt. Armstrong, made ten miles and encamped on the left bank of the river.

On the 23d the small boat filled in passing some drift wood, owing to the strength of the current. By the good management of crew and the prompt assistance rendered by Capt. Riley and Lt. Wickliff everything was saved.

On the 27th, Mr. Pilcher overtook us with two boats, and encamped with us. Mr. Pilcher was acting partner of the Missouri Fur Company and had been appointed Special Sub Indian Agent by Major O'Fallon. He had taken on board his boats, at Fort Atkinson, a five and a half inch howitzer and its equipments. This he was good enough to transport to the point of our destination.

On the 1st of July I sent back an express with orders for Major Ketchum to join the expedition as soon as practicable after his arrival at Fort Atkinson.

On the third day of July at about nine o'clock in the morning Lt. Wickliff had the misfortune to lose the boat which had been committed to his charge. The boats were progressing under sail near the right bank of the river, which was thickly covered with timber. The wind was light, and owing to the timber, very unsteady. Lieut. Wickliff wished to lay his boat further out

into the stream for the purpose of obtaining a better wind, and while doing so the wind ceased to blow, and his boat fell back upon a large tree which was under water, as the wind had been blowing against the current it had rendered the water so rough that the wake of this tree had not been discovered.

The consequence was instantly fatal to the boat. She sank and broke into two pieces. Every possible exertion was made to save the lives of the crew. Capt. Riley promptly put his boat about and followed the wreck, which was rapidly drifting down stream along a bend in the river which was full of similar obstructions to that which the boat of Lt. Wickliff had stove. But he had the skill and good fortune to escape them all. He twice threw his cordelle to those on the wreck and made it fast, but it was not sufficiently strong to hold the wreck and immediately broke. Finding it impossible to land the wreck, he sent his best swimmers on shore to save the public property, in which they were very efficient and successful. In the meantime Sergt. Drum and Private Thomas had been sent off with a small skiff to the assistance of the crew on the wreck. They were very efficient and saved the lives of several of the men. They had nearly reached Sergt. Stackpole when he sank to rise no more. The wreck drifted about two or three miles and lodged against the shore.

When the boat sank, the small boat which we called the barge was some distance in advance. We made signals to her, and she returned. We landed her cargo and immediately went in pursuit of the -wreck.

We found it as above stated. Took off the mast, sail and rigging and saved everything which was left in it.

The mast and yard we left on shore to be taken home on our return. The public property which Capt. Riley had not taken into his boat was put into the barge and taken tip to our remaining boats.

We saved the greatest part of the flour and all the whiskey and lost all the pork which was in the boat. There was no ordnance or ordnance stores in the boat, but we unfortunately lost fifty-seven muskets and bayonets. What was still worse, we found on mustering the crew that we had lost one sergeant and six men. For their names and description I beg leave to refer

you to the Company reports, which I herewith have the honor to send you.

Mr. Pilcher was kind enough to take on board his boats eleven barrels of our provisions, the balance we distributed amongst our own boats and were under way again at five o'clock next morning. During the whole of this troublesome scene I was highly pleased with the efficiency and promptness both of the officers and men. The kindness of Mr. Pilcher in taking some of our cargo was also highly appreciated. As he was short of provisions for his men I let him have two barrels of pork and one barrel of beans. The beans, however, had been wet and I fear were of little use to him. He has never made any charge for transportation ; neither has any been made of the pork.

On the 6th of July we met Mr. Pratte" with a keel boat which I had loaned to him, to bring down some furs, buffalo robes, etc., but as those articles had been previously sent down by Genl. Ashley's returning boat Mr. Pratte had but very little cargo in the boat. We received the boat of him ; and Capt. Armstrong with his company was placed on board. A part of our cargo was taken from the other boats and placed in this boat, and a few days subsequently our provisions which were in Mr. Pilcher's boat were also put into that of Capt. Armstrong.

On the night of the 8th of July we encamped on the right bank of a small slough. We supposed that we had here found a very excellent harbor. But at 10 o'clock at night we were suddenly struck by one of the most severe gales of wind which any of us had ever witnessed. The roaring of the wind was heard but a moment before it struck us. Our boats on the largest boat (The Yellow Stone Packet) were broken in an instant. The patron of the boat and several of the men were on board. They immediately dropped their anchor, but all was in vain. The anchor was dragged and the boat driven with great violence on a sand bar below us, at the mouth of the slough. When she struck the bar, the masts and deck were carried over board and broken in pieces.

Doctor Gale was the first officer to offer assistance. He took charge of a small party of men and went immediately to the boat, and, although the wind was exceedingly severe and the swell or surf very high, he succeeded in landing a large quantity of the cargo. The timely exertions of Doctor Gale at this crit-

ical moment probably saved us from the mortification of being compelled to return with the expedition. The boat and property would probably have been lost in a few minutes had it not been for his exertions. Lt. Morris was ordered to go with a party in the barge to the assistance of Doctor Gale. Lieut. Morris continued with the men during the remainder of the night at the boat, and saved much of the cargo.

On the ninth at reveille took all the men (except a small number as a guard and to cook) and went to the boat. Found Lieut. Morris and party doing well, but having been long in the water, and the night having been very cold as well as stormy, they were very much chilled.

Again the zeal and efficiency of Doctor Gale was conspicuous. He landed (with the assistance of the men) one of our six pounders, all our lead and nearly all our cannon balls.

All the officers and men were active and efficient and appeared emulous to excel in saving the boat and public property. We found a large tree lying against the boat. This was probably driven by the force of the wind and current against the boat at the commencement of the gale, and which probably drove her from her moorings. The boat being cleared of the cargo and rigging, the officers and men all joined in drawing her on a bar, so as to bring her to the top of the water. She was then soon emptied of the mud and water with which she had been filled, and to our great joy we found that her hull was not injured.

Lieuts. Noel and Morris were directed to open, examine and dry our ammunition. We were highly gratified to learn that many of the musket cartridges and also two barrels of powder were uninjured. We saved considerable flour and all the whiskey; and lost all the pork and also all the supplies of the officers' mess.

We also again had the misfortune to lose a small number of muskets and bayonets.

Capt. Riley was directed to take charge of a party of sailors and riggers to repair sails and rigging. Lt. Bradley of a party to collect, dry and arrange the public property. Lt. Crugar was assigned to the superintendence of the carpenters to repair the boat. I was highly gratified with Corporal Martin, who was at the head of the carpenters. They got the deck of the boat on before retreat.

On the tenth the wind was all day strong and ahead.

On the eleventh we were again under way before sunrise.

At to o'clock a. m. on the 19th, we arrived at a trading establishment called by the Indian traders Fort Recovery or sometimes Cedar Fort. We found here a small band of the Sioux Indians called Yanktons" and also a small number of the Teton" band of the same nation. They were anxious to join us against the Aricaras. I told them that we had men enough, but as those bad Indians were enemies to them as well as to us I was willing they should join us and help to punish them.

We were employed during the 10th and 21st in reorganizing our corps and arming our men, who had been disarmed by our aquatic misfortunes. This was effected by borrowing ten rifles of the Missouri Fur Company and organizing a small corps of artillery. We gave their arms to other men.

The number of our companies was reduced from six to five and one of those armed with rifles, by using our surplus rifles, which were brought for the purpose of hunting and those we borrowed as above mentioned.

We also borrowed twenty or thirty rifles from Genl. Ashley, but had occasion to use but few of them.

The rifle company was placed under the command of Capt. Riley.

Lieut. Morris was assigned to the artillery and the company under his command heretofore, broken tip.

While at this place we had an inspection and drill. Also received information that Major Wooley," of the Sixth regiment, and Bt. Major Ketchum," of the same regiment, had arrived at a trading establish inent called Fort Kiowa,{' eight or ten miles above where we lay.

Those gentlemen had left Fort Atkinson immediately after their arrival there, and come by land across the prairies to join us. Their journey at this very hot season of the year was far from being a pleasant one. Their promptness was, however, highly gratifying, and I was much pleased to meet them, as their services were deemed highly necessary.

On the 28th came to where two bands of the Sioux Indians, the Sciones" and Ankpapat" had pitched their lodges, about two hundred in number. We were invited to feast with them on dog meat, a dish which they considered superior to any other.

"We invited them to our camp. A council was held with them. They were informed of the object of our expedition by Mr. pilcher, and they cheerfully consented and appeared anxious to join us.

During the 31st July and first of August we were detained in waiting for some Sioux Indians who had sent runners to request us to do so, and to say that they were coining to join us. We were also making arrangements to obtain some buffalo meat from the Indians. We obtained on the 1st of August about 2,000 pounds for ten gallons of whiskey.

In the meantime we were busily engaged in organizing our corps and making cartridges. This was highly important, as all our six pound cartridges had been lost or damaged.

Genl. Ashley here made a tender of his services and those of his party, amounting to eighty men. They were divided into two companies. Genl. Ashley nominated his officers and their appointments_ were confirmed in orders.

They were as follows

Jedediah Smith," for Captain.

Hiram Scott," do.

Hiram Allen, Lieut.

George C. Jackson, (10.

Charles Cunningham, Ensign.

Edw. Rose," do.

Fleming, Surgeon.

T. Fitzpatrick," Quarter Master.

William Sublett,' Major.

Mr. Pilcher, as acting member of the Missouri Fur Company, for himself and party offered me the services of 40 men. These were formed into one Company. Mr. Pilcher was assigned to the command of the Indians with the nominal rank of Major. He nominated his officers and their appointment was confirmed in orders. They were as follows

Vanderburgh," Captain.

Angus McDonald, as Captain for the Indian Command. –

Carson," as 1st Lieutenant.

Gordon," , as 2nd Lieut.

It will readily be perceived that none of these gentlemen or their men were amenable to martial law, nor was it in my power or in their own to make them so. It was therefore only upon

their promise to obey orders that I consented to receive their services.

It was clearly understood that their word of honor was pledged to obey my orders. Their appointments were merely nominal and intended only to confer the same privileges and respect on them as was paid to our own officers of the same grade. No nominal rank was conferred on GenL Ashley, as he was a brigadier general in the militia of the State of Missouri and lieutenant governor of the same. (The forces thus organized, including regular troops, mountaineers, voyageurs and Indians, were styled the Missouri Legion.)

On the third of August we again found on the bank of the river the two bands of Indians before mentioned. The Sciones and Ankpapat. They hailed us and said they "wished us to come -to a feast, for they had killed a heap of dogs." Mr. Pilcher and myself went over the river to them. I told their chief, called "The Fire Heart," that our business was to fight, not to eat, and he must excuse me. If he intended to go with us to fight the Aricaras, I wished him to have his lodges struck and move immediately. He said he would do so, but wished to cross the river. We were obliged to cross the two bands in our boats, which detained us the remainder of the day.

On the sixth and seventh of August we were detained by waiting for the arrival of some of our friendly Indians, who were in the rear, and to give an opportunity to the sub-agent to furnish the Indians with powder and balls.

On the 8th we left the boats under the direction of Major Wooley with about ten men to each boat.

The remainder of the troops were disembarked to go by land. As we were now within twenty-five miles of the Aricara villages we endeavored to make such arrangements as to prevent our enemy from discovering our force. Accordingly a small party of Sioux warriors were sent considerably in advance.

Next in our line of march was placed Capt. Riley with his company of rifle men, and Genl. Ashley with his two companies of mountaineers as our principal advance, at a short distance from the remaining companies of the Sixth regiment. The men of the Missouri Fur Company were on board their boats. The remainder of our Indians moved on our flanks, and in our rear, which in all Mr. Pilcher estimated on the 7th of August at 400

warriors, amongst whom were supposed to be 234 fire arms. These estimates are declared to be made upon the statements of the Indians, and not by actual enumeration. Mr. Pilcher estimated those who joined us subsequently at 350 warriors. number of arms not known, making an Indian force of 750 men.

Allow me to say that up to this time I had been very well satisfied with Mr. Pilcher in every respect, particularly as subagent. He had neglected no opportunity to be serviceable to the expedition, but had done everything in his power to ensure its success.

I have understood that it was not intended after the defeat of the party under the late Messrs. Immil and Jones was known, to send the boats of the Missouri Fur Company above their Fort Recovery. From that point to the Aricaras villages they could have had no other object but to co-operate with us, for the service of our Country, and to acquire influence with the Sioux nation. The former object was highly appreciated by me and the latter if it existed, as I really believe it did, I considered as perfectly justifiable as they were engaged in the fur trade with that nation.

Mr. Pilcher had an interpreter who had been for a considerable time in the employment of the Missouri Fur Company, and with whom I had too much reason to be displeased. He no doubt did all in his power to increase the influence and importance of that Company, not only at the expense of other traders but also at that of our expedition.

On the night of the 8th, we encamped about 15 or 16 miles from the Aricara villages and moved forward again early on the morning of the ninth.

During the day we continually received the most strange and contradictory accounts from our Indians. It appeared that there were several Sioux living with the Aricaras and who had intermarried with them. They were sent for, to come out and see their friends who were coming as the Sioux said to smoke and make peace with the Aricaras. Some said that the villages were strongly fortified and furnished with ditches as deep as a man's chin when standing in them. At other times it was said that the Aricaras were so confident that the Sioux were coming to make peace with them that they had taken down all their defences and that there was nothing to defend them but their dirt lodges. Nothing appeared certain but that the Aricaras

were still in their villages. These contradictory stories which were told by the Sioux had the effect to create suspicions of their fidelity. It was also reported (and there was too much reason to believe it true), that the Sciones and Ankpapat who were combined, had determined, in case we were defeated to join the Aricaras.

We arrived at a small stream called Grand River, distant from the villages six or seven miles, at about 12 o'clock. It became necessary to halt, for our forces to close up, and to obtain water, &c.

As our greatest apprehension was, that our enemies (the Aricaras) would run away from us; it was thought advisable to advance rapidly with our Indian forces and surround their villages and prevent them from escaping untill the regular troops and our boats with the artillery could come up. Having determined upon this, I notified it to Mr. Pilcher and directed him to move on with the Indians and his Interpreter. I soon discovered the Indians making a rapid movement to the front, on horse back and I saw the Interpreter amongst them. Supposing that Mr. Pilcher was where he should be, at the head of his corps, I took Lt. Noel with me and followed them. We soon overtook the Interpreter. He was directed to send back an Indian as a guide for our column. He did so, and Lt. Noel went back with the Indian to inform Major Ketchum the purpose for which he was sent.

The Interpreter and myself then pushed forward to gain the front and to check the advance, that the Indians might move more compactly. We gained the front after going about two miles; but I was disappointed in not finding Mr. Pilcher there. I subsequently found that he had halted the Indians nearly a mile (and perhaps more) in the rear-not knowing that I was in front of him. I returned and met them, waited untill our column came up. Being completely disgusted with my Indian allies, I determined to quit them and gave up the idea of advancing with them.

They were directed to move forward and keep upon our right and left flanks. We again moved forward. Our Indians with their Commandant were however soon out of sight of us in advance. Mr. Pilcher soon came to me with an Indian whom he reported to be an Aricara and said that he had delivered him-

self tip to him and claimed protection. I dismounted and disarmed this Indian, and placed him under guard and gave his arms to a Sioux who was destitute. It afterwards appeared that Major Pilcher's Aricara prisoner, was a Sioux who belonged to the Major's command. His arms and horse were subsequently returned.

When we had arrived within two or three miles we began to hear firing in front and to meet Sioux returning with captured horses.

The troops were ordered to advance in quickest time. Soon met several Sioux, in succession who urged me to press forward our men. As the men were then moving as rapidly as they could and be efficient when they did arrive, I took no notice of what they said. But we very soon met Mr. Pilcher. He reported that the Aricaras had met the Sioux but a short distance from their villages and that they had not only maintained their ground against the Sioux but had driven the latter back. That it was highly important to press forward one or two Companies to support the Sioux or the consequences would probably be very prejudicial.

Capt. Riley and GenL Ashley were accordingly ordered to advance with all possible expedition.

Although they had been marching very rapidly for several miles they set out upon a run. It appeared however from the anxiety of Mr. Pilcher that the Sioux were hard pressed and I . sent my adjutant (Lt. Noel) to order Capt. Armstrong to advance also with his Light Company. But all the troops being actuated by the same generous ardour there was but little difference in the time of their arrival. Major Ketchum arrived, very soon after Capt. Armstrong with the remainder of the battalion.

We formed our line as follows: Genl. Ashley with his two Companies on the right, and his right resting upon the Missouri river. Next the five Companies of the 6th Rt. commanded by Bt. Major Ketchum with Capt. Armstrong's Light Company on the right and Capt. Riley's Company acting as Riflemen on the left. The line was formed very soon and the men ordered to support arms and advance. They did so. The Sioux were in our front as well as the Aricaras. We therefore could not deliver our fire untill we had passed the Sioux. But as soon as the Indians saw

our line advancing the Aricaras broke from their hiding places. The Sioux fired upon them.

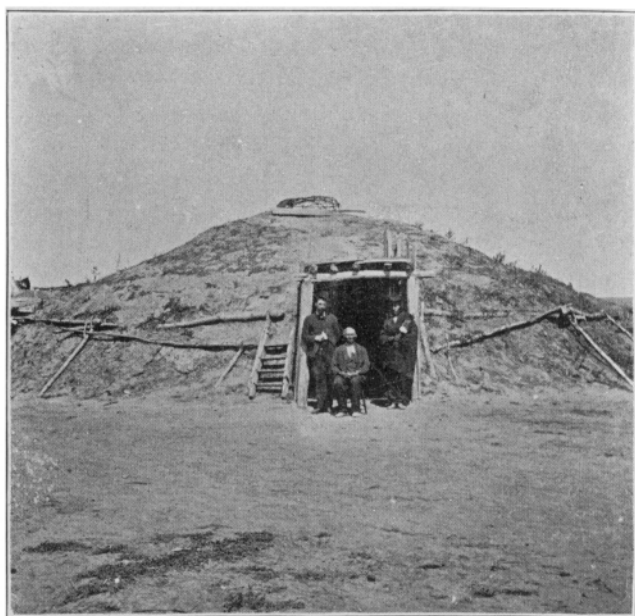
The Aricaras very soon entered their towns. We continued to advance untill within 3 or 400 yards of the villages where we halted to await the arrival of our boats and Artillery. It was said that the Sioux had killed ten of the Aricaras. We saw three or four with their heads-arms-hands-feet and legs cut off. Several Sioux were dragging about in great triumph the hands, feet, legs, or arms of the slain Aricaras by means of a long string or cord.

While we were waiting for our boats Capt. Riley was sent with his Company to engage the enemy and keep them in their towns. This he performed very handsomely. In the meantime the Sioux amused themselves by cutting to pieces the slain Aricaras, and playing over one of the dead bodies what they called "White Bear." This consisted in placing the skin of that animal over the shoulders of a Sioux who walked upon his hands and knees and endeavored to imitate the bear in his motions, by walking around and smelling of the (dead body).

Sometimes he would cut off small pieces of flesh and eat them. This ceremony lasted for some time. The Indians requested us not to look at the performer and particularly not to laugh at him, "as it would injure his medicine if we did so."

Major Wooley manifested great zeal in bringing forward our boats. He arrived with them in sufficient season to enable us to disembark our Artillery before sundown. At this late hour in the day, I thought it inadvisable to commence the attack with our Artillery as I had no doubt but that it would have the effect to drive the Indians away under cover of the night. Arrangements were made to commence the attack early on the morning of the tenth.

Capt. Riley and Lt. Brady with their Companies were ordered to take possession of a hill near the Upper Village. This was promptly done and well (done). Capt. Riley took a position with his command within 100 yards of the village, but in such manner as to secure his men from the fire of the enemy while at the same time he had completely the command of the village. Major Wooley was assigned to the general superintendence of the Artillery and Ordnance and to be assisted by Lt. Morris of the 6th Regiment.



Typical Ree Indian Dwelling

(From picture loaned by Dr. Washington Mathews)

The Companies of the 6th not attached were assigned to the command of Pt. Major Ketchum.

Genl. Ashley's command was again placed upon our right, resting upon the river. Next to them Lieut. Morris with one six pounder and a five and a half inch howitzer, and next the remaining Companies of the 6th Regiment. Our Indian Allies were very much scattered in our rear.

Sergt. Perkins with another six pounder, manned by a detail from the 6th Regt. was directed to co-operate with Mr. Vanderburgh, and sent against the upper village.

The troops having obtainrd their respective stations, the attack was commenced by Lt. Morris with his Artillery.

His first shot killed their celebrated and mischievous Chief called Grey Eyes and the second cut away the staff of their Medicine flag. Major Ketchum with his command was ordered to advance. He did so, until ordered to halt. He was then within three or four hundred yards of the lower village and as the arms of the men had been loaded for considerable time, it was desirable to discharge them. They were accordingly directed to fire at an elevation at the village. I then left this part of my command, to visit that at the upper village. I found Capt. Riley judiciously posted as I have before stated. Mr. Vanderburgh took several positions on the hill by my orders, but we were so near the town or village and so much elevated above it, that many of his shots passed entirely over and lodged in the river. He was finally sent with a six pounder down the hill on the sane plain and level upon which the upper village stood. From this position the shots from this piece were more effectual.

From the first minute that our troops had invested the village in such manner as to prevent the Aricaras from coming out, our Sioux had entered the cornfields of our enemy and were busily employed in carrying away the corn.

Early in the day it became evident that our Artillery would not have the effect to drive the enemy from their villages while so many Sioux were ready to cut them to pieces, the instant they did so. This led me to desire a more close examination of their defences, than I had hitherto been able to make. From all the accounts which we had received it appeared that the pickets around the town were respectable, and that they had also deep ditches or intrenchments within those pickets. Genl. Ashley's

men who had been in the towns spoke in this manner of the picketing. The Sioux told us of the ditches, which they said had been dug since the attack on Genl. Ashley. A Mr. McDonald, of whom I have before had occasion to speak, had wintered or remained for some time in those villages, was clearly of the opinion that we could only gain possession of the towns "by sapng and Mining," and that the defences were so strong and those Indians so confident in their own strength, that in case we made a charge or assault upon the villages "Even every Squaw would count her coup," by which I suppose he means that every Squaw would kill a man. With a view therefore to ascertain the strength of their fortifications I thought of making an assault upon an acute angle of the tipper town, which I could approach within Too steps under cover of a hill. Accordingly Lt. Noel was sent to order Major Ketchum to advance with his Company, to join the forces which we already had at the upper village, and to bring with him axes to cut away the pickets. Genl. Ashley with his command was also ordered to advance. He did so in the most gallant manner.

He promptly took possession of a ravine within twenty steps of the enemies lower town, and maintained a spirited action with them, which was well calculated to assist us in our design upon the tipper town, by making a diversion in our favor.

But when all other things were ready I was mortified exceedingly to learn from Mr. Pilcher that no assistance could be obtained from the Sioux in consequence of their being so deeply engaged in gathering corn though I only wished for them in case the Aricaras should conce out of their villages. And this was not all. It was my intention to have assaulted the village and cut away the picketing, more for the purpose of ascertaining their strength and the depth of their intrenchments than for any other purpose, and then to have fallen back again under cover of the hill.

I had too much reason to apprehend, that, in case the Sioux saw us falling back behind the hill, they would suppose, that we were beaten and probably join the Aricaras in attacking us. It was also the opinion of some of my best officers that a charge at that time and place would not be proper. I therefore gave up my idea of making a charge, and went with Lt. Cruger across the Enemy's cornfields to the river for the purpose of examining

the rear or river side of the towns, and also to examine some preparations which it was said that the Aricaras had made, to leave their towns, by loading skin canoes with corn, &c.

While returning I discovered that some of the Aricaras had come out of the villages and had placed themselves in a ravine near the upper town and had opened a galling fire upon our men on the hill. I sent for Major Ketchum to advance with his Company and also with that commanded by Lieut. Bradley. The Major very promptly took a good position near the town, drove the enemy from the ravine and it is believed did some execution.

I then went upon the hill where I found Mr. Pilcher with his boatmen laying in a hollow behind a part of the hill. He informed me that in his opinion nothing would arouse the Sioux but the concentration of our forces, and such a disposition of them, as would lead the Sioux "to believe that something great was about to be done." I told him that I intended to concentrate our forces, before the lower town, but intended in the first place to try a stratagem. He replied that stratagems "were no doubt justifiable towards those people" and asked me what it was. I told him that I had thought of sending Simoneau, my Aricara interpreter, to hail those Indians and tell them that they were fools that they did not come out and speak to the whites, and that if they would do so it would afford us an opportunity to examine their works. He replied that "it could do no harm at any rate." Simoneau was called, but as he could not understand English and I could not speak French, one of Mr. Pilcher's men was called to interpret for me. He was directed to tell Simoneau to go as near the village as he could with safety and hail the Aricaras and tell them that they were fools not to come out, and speak to the whites. But to be careful not to speak in my name, or that of Mr. Pilcher and that he should be careful to say precisely what I had told him to say and no more. To watch the effect of this, I went with Simoneau, and when he had got near the top of the hill, he hailed the Aricaras twice. He then turned and spoke to me in French. I asked one of my soldiers who spoke and understood the French language well, (and who was by the side of Simoneau), what it was that he said.

The soldier replied, that, Simoneau said the wind blew so

hard that he couldn't make the Aricaras hear him. I told the soldier to tell Simoneau that it was a matter of no consequence, and that I did not wish him to try again to make them hear. Simoneau immediately came away and I returned to the troops before the lower town. Lt. Morris was throwing shells with his howitzer, and Sergt. Lathrope was firing the six pounder at the lower village, both pieces were well served, and most excellent shots made with them. As it was not my intention to make a charge immediately owing to the scattered situation of the Sioux, Genl. Ashley was ordered to fall back with his Command nearly in line with the remainder of the troops. A short time subsequently to this period, I inquired of Lieut. Morris how many round shot he had yet left. He informed me that there were but thirteen exclusive of those at Sergt. Perkin's gun at the upper village. It subsequently appeared that he Sergt. Perkins had twenty-six. I informed the Lieut. that, we should need the balance of our ammunition in making an assault upon the villages, and directed him to cease firing immediately. I had previously directed the Sioux to be informed that we were about to withdraw our troops from the upper village, that they might leave the Aricara corn fields in sufficient season, to save their struggles from the tomahawks of the Aricaras. They were notified and did withdraw.

A Staff officer (Lt. Noel) was then sent to order Major Ketchum with his command and the other troops to return to the lower village, and join the other troops there. The troops opposed to the lower village were directed to fall back to our camp opposite to our boats, which was about 7 or 800 yards front the lower village. It was then between three and four o'clock.

Orders were given to Senior Officers of Corps to have their men obtain some refreshment, as soon as possible, and then to form their corps to march to the enemies' cornfields to obtain some corn for the subsistence of our men, several of whom and particularly Genl. Ashley's command had not had any provisions for two days. Having given these orders and having the greatest confidence in Major Ketchum and all the officers and men with him and feeling very confident that the enemy would not do us the favour to make a sortie upon our men while returning to our camp, I retired to the cabin of my boat.

Very soon afterwards, Mr. Pilcher came into my cabin and

apparently with great alarm informed me that Capt. Riley was attacked. I was very glad to hear it, and immediately went out to send him support. But behold! Capt. Riley and all our men were very quietly coming in without the least knowledge of any attack being made upon them. But there were some Sioux and some Aricaras on horse back on the hill opposite the upper village apparently holding a parley. Mr. Pilcher remarked that this report was unfortunately too much like the case of his Aricara prisoner.

I directed arrangements for marching to the cornfields to be hurried and returned to my boat.

In a short time I returned to the encampment on the bank and went to speak with Genl. Ashley on the subject of our intended movement.

We all knew the Sioux had obtained a large and full supply of corn, and I knew no reason why they should not continue with us at least one day, after we had tried the effect of our artillery. I had made them no promise; nor had I authorized any other promises than what the Sub-Agent had made. The extent of these were that they might have all horses or other property which they could take. It was therefore my intention to obtain subsistence for our men. Make arrangements to prevent the enemy from escaping during the night and the next day to gain possession of the towns.

But while conversing with Genl. Ashley I heard and saw a Sioux and an Aricara holding a conversation on the plain in front of the villages. I sent for Mr. Pilcher and told him that the Sioux and Aricaras were holding a parley, and that I wished him to go and see to it. He moved off with his interpreter in that direction.

On casting my eye upon the hills in our rear I discovered that they were covered with the retreating Sioux and soon had reason to know that they were all going off. I immediately mounted my horse and went after Mr. Pilcher to be present at the parley with the Sioux and Aricara.

We halted, and after some few preliminary motions the Aricara advanced. I directed the interpreter to ask him what he wanted. I was told that he said that the Aricaras wished us to have pity upon their women and children and not to fire upon them any more.

That we had killed the man who had done all the mischief and who had caused both its and themselves so much trouble. He wished we would permit the Chiefs to come out and speak to us and make peace, it was the wish of the whole nation for we had killed a great many of their people and of their horses. I directed the Interpreter to tell him to go back and inform his Chiefs that if they were sincerely disposed for peace, I should expect to see the Chiefs come out immediately, to speak to us, and that we would meet them and tell them on what terms we would make peace. We then returned to our boats and the Indian went into the village. In a short time afterwards several Aricaras, I think ten or twelve, were seen approaching cautiously toward our camp. I invited the Senior Officers of my command, the Gentlemen of my Staff and Mr. Pilcher to go with me and meet them. We did so. They appeared to be very much terrified.

They told us the same that the other Indians had before told us, and in addition said "do with us as you please, but do not fire any more guns at us. We are all in tears."

I told them that they must make up the losses of Genl. Ashley and behave well in future and to make me certain that they would do so, they must give me five of their principal men as security or hostages.

They replied that they would restore every thing they could. Their horses had been taken by the Sioux, and killed in great numbers. They had not horses to give but they would return all the guns they could find and the articles of property which they received from Genl. Ashley. Even to the hats. I addressed them and briefly told them in substance that they had yet seen but a small specimen of the power of the Americans. That they were all in our power, but that we did not wish to hurt them if they would behave well. That it was the wish of the people and of the Government of the United States to be at peace with all the red skins. And if they should behave badly any more they might expect to be more severely punished than they ever yet had been.

They repeated the terms before stated and offered to let five of their number go with us as hostages. Considering my small force-the strange and unaccountable conduct of the Sioux and even the great probability of their joining the Aricaras against

us. And also considering the importance of saving to our Country the expense and trouble of a long Indian war fare ; and the importance of securing the safety of the Indian trade, I thought proper to accept the terms. The pipe of peace was accordingly lighted-it passed round very well, untill it came to Mr. Pilcher, he refused to smoke. He also refused to shake hands with the Indians, but got up and walked back and forth with much agitation and at last said to the Indians, "That War Chief has said you shall be safe, and you shall be so, But tomorrow I will speak to you." He however, last said, that, as it was my wish, that lie should smoke, he would do so, but not as evidence of his assent to the peace or something to this effect. His whole manner was such as to have a very unfavorable effect upon the Indians, especially as his Interpreter (one Collin Campbell) had told the Indians, that Mr. Pilcher was the principal, or first chief of our Expedition.

After smoking, and selecting from those present (and who by the bye, were said, by those best acquainted with them to be the principal Chiefs and men of their nation) the five hostages to go with us; and whom I intended to take with me to Fort Atkinson, we arose to return to our boats. The Indians had brought ten or twelve buffaloe robes as a present to us. My Interpreter Simoneau, attempted to carry them, but could not take all of them. The Indians who were going with us, took up the balance, and we moved on. But several of the officers had by this time advanced several yards from me. I believe Lieuts. Crugar and Noel were only near me.

As we were walking along, Campbell, (the Interpreter) was conversing continually with one of the Aricaras who understood and spoke Sioux. I have but little knowledge of the Sioux tongue, but can understand some words and I understood Campbell to tell the Aricara that the "heart of the big Chief (meaning Mr. Pilcher) was bad, very bad," meaning that Mr. Pilcher was very much displeased, and in fact the Indian did not stand in need of Campbell's information to know this, it was apparent from his looks and actions. Campbell, continually kept his thumb on the cock of his rifle. He also snatched a pipe tomahawk from one of the Indians, and threw it to the rear. This, together with the circumstance of coming to the body of one of the Aricaras who had been killed by the Sioux and most shock-

ingly mangled and stuck full of arrows (being the same over which the Sioux played "White bear" on the 8th) and also seeing our men standing by their arms, they became alarmed, and stopped. I endeavored to convince them, that they should not be hurt, if they would go with us, but all was in vain.

They said that Campbell had told them that it was our intention to get them into our possession and then kill them. From their apparent fear and trembling, I have no doubt but that they believed it. It became impossible to make them advance. They said they would come to us early in the morning, and they threw down the buffaloe robes and turned back. I told the Interpreter to tell them to take up the robes and carry them back to their villages, if they would not do as they had agreed to do, to take back the robes, and then there would be no peace and we should be as we were before we smoked, but they would not take back the robes. I told the Interpreter to let them go and come along. Campbell cocked his rifle and said "Col. I will kill one of them fellows." I positively forbid him from firing upon them. They were unarmed and had also placed themselves under our protection and had conce out of their village under a promise of safety. Campbell soon repeated what he had before said. I again in a loud voice, in fact as loud as I well could speak, firmly forbid Campbell and ordered him not to fire.

At that moment Mr. Pilcher as I have since been informed was telling Doctor Gale that he would not be surprised to see those Indians seize the Colonel and drag him away to the villages. The Doctor accordingly fired his pistol at them, and Mr. Pilcher ordered Campbell to fire, he did fire, as did also Mr. Vanderburgh. These shots were all fired in very quick succession, and were as quickly returned by the Indians. We parted in a hurry. The shots of the Indians fortunately did no injury. One ball touched Mr. Pilcher but I understood that it did him no material injury. The Indians returned to their villages and we to our camp. Nothing further was done untill the next day. It was now ascertained, that the Sioux had all gone away, and that they had taken off six mules belonging to the Qr. Master's Department and also six or seven of Genl. Ashley's horses. The conduct of those Indians, had been so strange and unaccountable that the general opinion amongst the Officers appeared to be that they had come to an understanding with the Aricaras, and

that they intended to make a joint attack upon us, during the night. We took our measures accordingly. We partially entrenched ourselves on the edge of the river bank. Our position was then a strong one. I will forbear to make any comments as to the unpleasant manner in which our negotiations were broken off. I have stated the facts, they speak for themselves.

On the morning of the eleventh, I saw the first chief, called Little Soldier, coming from the village and sent my Interpreter to meet him. A short time afterwards I saw Mr. Pilcher's Interpreter (Campbell) coming up the bank from Mr. Pilcher's boats and ran with his rifle in his hand, toward the Little Soldier. As I had been informed that Campbell had boasted of firing upon the Indians and breaking the treaty, I hailed him, and ordered him to stop. He appeared not inclined to obey me. I therefore ordered one of my sentinels to fire upon him, if he did not return. He then came back and was placed under guard, where he continued until we left the place. I then met the Little Soldier. He enquired of me what the white people intended by firing upon them, so soon after smoking and making peace. I told him that it had been done contrary to my orders. He said that his people were very much alarmed at the circumstance and believed that what they had heard as to our intention of killing them, if we got them into our possession was true.

He also enquired if the other chief (meaning Mr. Pilcher) would make peace. I told him he would do so. That he was subject to my order for he had promised to obey me, and that I had authority, and the power to make all the men with me either fight or make peace. He said he would endeavor to have the chiefs and his principal men come out again and smoke and hear my words, and that he should be very glad to have some of our Chiefs and soldiers come into their villages, as his people were very much alarmed. Previous to this, I had not found any one willing to go into the villages except a man by the name of Rose, who held the nominal rank of Ensign in Genl. Ashley's volunteers. He appeared to be a brave and enterprising man and was well acquainted with those Indians. He had resided for about three years with them. Understood their language and they were much attached to him. He was with Genl. Ashley when he was attacked. The Indians at that time called to him to take care of himself, before they fired upon Genl. Ashley's

party. This was all I knew of this man. Have since heard that he was not of good character. Every thing he told us however was fully corroborated. He was perfectly willing to go into their villages and did go in, several times. He fully confirmed everything which the Indians had told us. He said they had been severely whipped and were the most humble beings on earth, but they were so much afraid of us, that they dare not come into our camp.

On my stating to Doctor Gale and to Lt. Morris what the Little Soldier had said in relation to having some of us visit the village, the Doctor and Lieut. immediately asked permission to go there, which was granted very cheerfully, and I requested them to go immediately and inform me on their return what they

should discover. - Doctor Gale has made to me the following report

Camp near the Aricara villages,

August, 1823.

Sir

In compliance with your request Lt. Morris and myself, accompanied by an Interpreter, have just visited the Aricara towns. The Little Soldier met us near the pickets and invited us to his Lodges and treated us with much hospitality. During our stay all the warriors of the village collected at the Lodge and seated themselves about us, they all appeared very melancholy. They had just finished burying their (lead many of whom had layed exposed two days. I enquired of the Chief why he did not go out with his principal men and shake hands with the American Chief; since he had begged for peace, and it had been granted to him. He replied that, "His young men were like frightened deer, that they had been flogged with whips of which they had heretofore no knowledge, and such as they supposed the Great Spirit alone had power to punish them with ; but since we soldiers had visited him, he would have no apprehension in visiting us. On parting with him, lie shook us by the hand and said, he had understood that we were hungry and requested us to send some of our small boats opposite the village and lie would have them loaded with such articles as we required, for our subsistence and that he would return with them in Company with some of his Warriors to our camp.

I am respectfully, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John Gale,

Surg. U. S. A.

Col. Leavenworth,
Commg.

We were very short of provisions, but I did not think proper to send a boat at that time, but sent a message to the Little Soldier that they must come to our boats and see us without delay if he wished for peace. In the meantime I discovered by conversation with those who had been to the villages, and there were several who had now been there, that the towns were not so strongly fortified as we had been informed. That the pickets were very frail, and that they had but slight ditches on the inside. It appeared that the dirt lodges were the most formidable defences which they had. Several Indians soon arrived who said that they were sent by the Chiefs to assure us of their disposition to adhere to, and maintain the peace which had been made. But as they were not themselves Chiefs I declined to confer with them, but referred them to Major Wooley. He consented to go with them to their villages (while one of their number remained with us), to ascertain who the principal Chiefs were, and if they were seriously inclined to make a peace in good faith or not.

The Major soon returned and reported that, he was fully satisfied that they were acting with good faith. That they had been evidently severely flogged and humbled, and were anxious to make with us a permanent peace. He had seen all the principal men, and had made an arrangement with them that all their principal men, (except one, who was to be represented on the occasion by his brother), and one who was wounded for whom his son acted, should meet the American Officers in front of our camp, and sign a treaty. In compliance with the spirit of my instruction I then applied to Mr. Pilcher as Sub-Agent to assist in making the treaty. To draft it, &c-he declined. Major Henry who was with General Ashley had also been appointed a special sub-agent by Major O'Fallon and I, therefore, gave him the same invitation. He politely replied that it was a matter in which he felt himself wholly incompetent to act as his powers were for a special purpose. I then drew the treaty myself. The Indians were ready to sign it. It was signed in the presence of the officers who witnessed it. A copy of this treaty I have heretofore had the honor to send you.

It is proper, however, to remark here that the substance of the treaty was that they should restore to General Ashley as far as possible the articles of property taken and not in future.ob-

struct the navigation of the river but treat the Americans as friends wherever they might meet them.

An unrestrained intercourse was immediately opened between our camp and the villages. The Indians in the meantime had buried their (lead and began to look more cheerful.

We were supplied with plenty of corn and other vegetables. These they offered to give us, and said we had conquered them and they were ours but we choose to make them some compensation.-Although they said they did not expect any.-We asked them what articles would be most acceptable to them. They replied that if we were pleased to give their women any trifles to please them for bringing the corn to the boats we might do so. Copies of the treaty were sent by my Adjutant to 17 r. Pilcher and to Major Henry, they being Sub-Agents.

From Mr. Pilcher I received the following note

Camp near the Aricara Villages,
13th Augt. 1823.

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a paper transmitted to me last evening by Lieut. Noel, your Adjt. entitled a treaty of peace between the Aricara nation and the united States. Notwithstanding I have declined any participation in this business and have been opposed to it upon several grounds which it is not necessary here to mention, I still think it proper to inform you that neither of the principal Chiefs of the Aricara Nation have signed that paper, and if I have been correct-informed were not present at the meeting when the paper was signed.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Joshua Pilcher.

On this subject I had taken some trouble to ascertain who were the Chiefs, and from the information of those who had been acquainted with those Indians for many years and who know almost every individual, I was fully satisfied that Major Wooley had not been mistaken and that every Chief or principal man of both villages had signed the treaty except one who had always been considered as the first soldier of the late Chief Grey Eyes and who was now considered no better than a dog in their villages.

It now became necessary to see that our new friends fulfilled their stipulations as to Genl. Ashley, and they were called upon to do so. They delivered to the Genl. three rifles, one horse and

sixteen buffaloe robes and said that it was all they could do for him. They were told that it was not enough, and that they must go back to their villages and tell their people to come forward and remunerate Genl. Ashley or that we should again attack them.

They said they would do so. And went to the villages for that purpose. I must here remark that as Mr. Pilcher had declined any participation in making the treaty, he and others of the Company to which he belonged appeared to think that they were not bound by it, and therefore would not shake hands with any of the Chiefs at which the Little Soldier and others expressed much mortification. They also became suspicious that we were not sincere in our professions of peace. They were afraid to give up their horses to remunerate Genl. Ashley, and they were apprehensive that we intended to again attack them and that they would need them to assist in making their escape. Mr. Rose informed me that their women were packing up evidently for the purpose of going off. He said they had again become exceedingly alarmed. The least unusual noise in our camp and particularly our martial music which they had not before heard terrified them greatly.

The Little Soldier returned to our boats late in the afternoon of the 12th. He was very much agitated and exhausted and fainted almost as soon as he entered my cabin. Our Surgeon soon restored him. When he had sufficiently recovered to be able to speak, he expressed deep regret that hostilities should again occur. But it was impossible to do anything more for Genl. Ashley. He said that it was the people of the lower village who had done the mischief to Genl. Ashley, and that the Sioux had carried away many of their horses and the rest we had killed. That the people of the upper village would not give up their horses to pay for the mischief which the Chief Grey Eyes of the lower village had done, and that they were all of them so much alarmed that it was very difficult for him to prevent them from running away from the villages. He also said that he had always been the friend of the Americans, that he had told Genl. Ashley the truth and given him notice that the Indians would attack him. That he had lost his son in the fight, but he was willing to forget him, as the Grey Eyes had been killed, who had been the cause of all the mischief. If it was our inten-

tion to again attack them he hoped we would let him remain with us. He told us where we could post our Artillery to good advantage, and he told us correctly. He said we must be careful to fire low and that our artillery would cut them all to pieces, and it would therefore be unnecessary to give the Indians a chance to kill even one of our men.

My officers generally and all the men were anxious to charge upon the towns. There had been much said as to the feelings of the Indians. Some said that they had not been humbled. Others thought that they had. Mr. Pilcher and all his party had thrown their whole weight against the treaty. The troops were under arms. I felt that my situation was a disagreeable and unpleasant one. It appeared to me that my reputation and the honor and brilliancy of the expedition required that I should gratify my troops and make a charge. But I also thought that sound policy and the interest of my Country required that I should not.

My Command was small. We were short of provisions, and although Lieut. Morris had found some round shot of which he (lid not know when he before reported that lie had but thirteen, yet we had but 120 round shot and 25 stands of grape. If we succeeded in our charge, all that we could expect was to drive the Indians from their villages and perhaps kill a few more of them. The remainder would be left in the Country in a confirmed state of hostility to every white man. We could not expect to overtake them nor had we provisions sufficient to enable us to pursue them.

For my own part I felt confident that the Indians had been sufficiently humbled "fully to convince them of our ability to punish any injury they might do us," and that they would behave well in future, if we left them undisturbed in their villages. Genl. Ashley's boat could, then, I had no doubt, proceed without molestation, to the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, agreeably to his wishes. The trade and navigation of the river would be restored and probably a long and expensive Indian war avoided.

I also felt satisfied that the blood of our Countrymen had been avenged and I also felt an unwillingness to re-commence hostilities on account of the articles of property.

Genl. Ashley I well knew regarded not the property. It was

the principle. The question was:-had the Indians been sufficiently humbled and taught to fear and respect us.

On me lay the responsibility of decision.

The Little Soldier had asked us to postpone our attack untill the next morning that lie might in the meantime bring out his family.

On this subject I thought it advisable under all the circumstances to take the opinions of Major Wooley, Genl. Ashley and Mr. Pilcher.

Major Wooley's opinion was against a postponement. Genl. Ashley and Mr. Pilcher in favour of it. I was determined to postpone the attack and directed the troops to be dismissed.

The Little Soldier was dismissed and sent to his village. Mr. Rose went with him. I told the Little Soldier to make one more effort to save his people. That it was not their property that we cared so much about as it was to have them keep their word with us, and behave well in future.

After a little while lie came out with Mr. Rose and brought a few more buffaloe robes. He said they had no more, that they had taken these off their backs, and could not possibly 'do more and begged that we would now have pity on them.

Mr. Rose now informed me that the Indians were in great distress and alarm and that there was no doubt that they would leave their villages in the course of the night. I told him to go immediately to the village and tell the Little Soldier that we had concluded to be satisfied, and that we were so. We would not attack them.

To calm the fears of his people and tell them that as long as they behaved well towards the Americans they need not be afraid of us. He went to the villages with this message, and without my knowledge or consent carried a piece of white cloth on a stick. He afterwards told me that it was a signal which he had promised to give them in case I determined not to attack them.

Early on the morning of the 13th we discovered that the Indians had abandoned their villages and gone off during the night.

The facts which subsequently transpired I have stated in my communication of the 30th of August last and to which I beg leave to refer you.

If in the transaction of this business I have committed errors, as may be very probable, I can only say, that, my duties were intricate and difficult, and I beg you to believe that my sole object was to do that which was most for the honor and advantage of our Country.

Allow me to say further that with the conduct of Mr. Pilcher I was generally satisfied up to the commencement of our negotiations with the Aricaras. On that subject, I regret to say that he appeared to be influenced by some secret and hidden cause, of which I had no knowledge, and to entertain very erroneous ideas as to my powers and duties, as well as his own. If, however, my orders had not been violated (by a member and a clerk of the Company in which he was acting partner and for whose obedience to orders he was responsible), by setting fire to the Aricara Villages I should not have troubled you with any remarks on the subject. It is impossible for me to suppose that those men took that measure without consulting their Agent and obtaining his approbation and consent.

If my policy was wrong in leaving the villages standing, I was responsible to my superior officers and to my Country.

If my policy was correct, the Country should not have been deprived of the advantages of it, by the unauthorized act of Indian traders. It will be impossible for the military force of our Country to preserve peace between the Indians and our Citizens, (and there is nothing else to do it) if traders or citizens can with impunity burn the villages and towns of Indians whenever they choose to do so.

And yet I believe there is no law on the subject, by which such acts can be punished.

The knowledge of this fact alone prevented me from taking such measures on the subject as would readily have occurred to the mind of every military man.

In my former communications whenever I had occasion to mention the Missouri Fur Company, I wish that it may be distinctly understood that I have alluded only to those members of that Company whom I have had occasion to name in this report.

Lieut. Crugar acting Asst. Qr. Master has reported to me the expense of the Expedition as follows:-

For the purchase of Gun powder, Cordage, &c, &c.....	\$473.24
Hire of a Keel boat, Patroons and Boatmen.....	1515.00
Damage (lone the Keel boat (by a storm).....	<u>50.00</u>
	\$2038.24

A considerable quantity of the powder which was purchased is still on hand. The above sum of \$2038.24 is therefore more than the actual expenses. The accounts have been all made and will be forwarded to the proper Departments by the next express.

In the Subsistence Department we lost some provisions, but we obtained by hunting and purchase as much as we lost, so that in that Department the Government have sustained very little if any loss.

Major O'Fallon authorized Mr. Pilcher to make some expenditures to Indians. To how much they amounted I am not informed. Probably not to a large amount.

Major Henry as Sub-Agent was good enough to consent to employ messengers at my request to send after the Aricaras. How much he expended for that purpose I am unable to say.

Herewith I have the honor to send you copies of the Orders issued during the Expedition and also reports as to the men lost and wounded.

With sentiments of the highest respect,

I have the honor to be,

Your obt. Servt.

H. Leavenworth,

Col. Comd'g 6 Regt.

Brigr. GenL

H. Atkinson,

Commg. R. Wing W. Dept.

Consolidated Return of Men Lost and Wounded on the Late Expedition Against the Aricaras

1. Samuel Stackpole, sergeant; age 27; born, New Hampshire; enlisted at Fort Atkin son, by Lt. Palmer, 2d Novr., 1822; drowned 3d July. Very good soldier.
2. Andrew Viancore, drummer; age 18; born, Mich'n Tery.; enlisted at Fort Osage, byLt. Pentland, 10 Aug., 1819; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
3. Isaac Frew, private; age 27; born Chester county, Penna.; enlisted at Fort Atkin son, by Lt. Palmer, 15 Aug., 1822; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
4. Jacob Wycold, private; age 28; born York county, Penna.; enlisted at Fort Atkin son, by Lt. Palmer, 20 Novr., 1822; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.

SOUTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

5. Philip Heavil, private; age 29; born Philadelphia county, Penna.; enlisted at Fort Crawford, by Capt. Armstrong, 1 Feby., 1819; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
6. Hugh Patl.on, private; age 30; born Franklin county, Penna.; enlisted at Martin Cant., by Lt. Fields, 7 March, 1819; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
7. Richard Smith, private; age 32; born, Maryland; enlisted at Pittsburgh, by Lt. McCabe, 2 Octr., 1818; a gunshot wound in the face, 10th Aug. G. S.
8. Patrick McNulty, private; age 31; born Franklin county, Penna.; enlisted at St. Louis by Lt. Lowe, 3 March, 1820; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
9. George Lemasters, private; age 25; born Mason county, Virginia; enlisted at Newport, Ky., by Capt. Armstrong, 14 Feby., 1820; fracture of the left leg. A very good soldier.

A CRITICISM OF LEAVENWORTH

The following is the view of Capt. Chittenden upon the Ree war as a military exploit

In the operations before the Aricara village the whites lost none in killed and but two slightly wounded. The Sioux lost two, killed and seven wounded in the attack of the 9th. The loss of the keel boat, with its property and crew, on the way up the river, was the one serious disaster of the expedition-a very serious one indeed-but, so far as is known, wholly accidental.

*Recognizing fully the authority of Captain Chittenden, both as a fair and impartial historian and as a gentleman of broad military training and experience, this writer is still of the opinion that he has done the memory of Colonel Leavenworth an injustice and has placed too high an estimate upon the character of Joshua Pilcher. It must be admitted that Colonel Leavenworth failed to display the energy and decision on the 9th and 10th of August which had usually characterized his career; nevertheless, he accomplished everything which the expedition set out to accomplish. He secured the humble submission of the Rees, and, but for the traitorous conduct of Pilcher, there can scarcely be a doubt that the river road would have been clear and free to the merchants for the future. The motives which actuated Pilcher are not far to seek. As Captain Chittenden states, after the massacre of Jones and Immel, Pilcher had decided to withdraw the operations of the Missouri Fur Company from the upper river and the mountains. The rivalry between the fur merchants was intense, and, having withdrawn his own operations from the Ree country, Pilcher set out to injure as much as possible his rival and business competitor, Ashley and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and the easy way to do this was to keep the Rees hostile and so make the passage of the river extremely hazardous. Observe how faithfully he (Pilcher) served the purposes of Leavenworth while the expedition was still in the region in which he proposed to confine his future operations, and how he sought to hinder, delay and defeat its object the moment a junction was made with Ashley at the mouth of the Cheyenne. The official report fully discloses his treachery, and to this writer it appears that the greatest weakness exhibited by Leavenworth during the

Colonel Leavenworth thought that the Aricara loss amounted to fifty, but Pilcher was positive that it could not exceed thirty, including women and children, and of these thirteen had been killed by the Sioux. The bombardment caused very few casualties, for it is evident from the hint dropped by Little Soldier that the Indians lay on the ground and that most of the shot passed over them. The effect of the shot on the mud huts was inappreciable. These were all the material results of the campaign under Leavenworth's immediate command, to which may be added the looting of the Aricara cornfields by the Sioux and the burning of the villages by unknown hands. The cost of the expedition was only about two thousand dollars, and the time consumed about seventy-five days. The experience of the troops on the long march and the knowledge it gave them of the country were among its most valuable results.

Colonel Leavenworth's prompt and energetic action, when he received the news of Ashley's disaster, was most creditable. expedition was his failure to visit upon Pilcher the highest and most summary punishment within his military power. Pilcher's criticisms of Leavenworth came promptly to the attention of Leavenworth's superior officers, but made no impression unfavorable to Leavenworth upon them. In transmitting Colonel Leavenworth's letter of September 7th (see this volume), in which he recommends several of his subordinate officers for promotion, to John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, Major General E. P. Gaines, commanding the western department, says: "I am decidedly of the opinion that the conduct of the colonel with that of his officers and men was such as to merit marked applause, and if the president of the United States should be pleased to confer any token of his approbation upon any of the officers engaged in the late expedition, Colonel Leavenworth himself has a well founded claim to the first notice.

"It is reported that Mr. Pilcher, agent of one of the Missouri trading companies, and at the same time sub-agent for Indian affairs, has undertaken to censure Colonel Leavenworth, upon the ground of his having made a treaty with the Riccarees before they had been properly chastised.

"Upon this subject it may be remarked that Colonel Leavenworth, by virtue of his command, and pursuant to the law of nature, and of nations. had a right to decide as to the measure of punishment due to the enemy and to dictate to him terms of capitulation; subject of course to the approval or disapproval of the proper authorities above him; nor is it to be apprehended that his government or country will be likely to blame him for having abstained from a sanguinary measure. The victory most acceptable to a virtuous and enlightened nation is doubtless that which is obtained at the least expense of blood."

It was a serious responsibility to take that of ordering an expedition over six hundred miles away without previous authority from his superior. But Colonel Leavenworth rightly judged that it was not a time to wait several weeks for communication with St. Louis, and he decided to go at once.

The co-operation of General Ashley and Major Pilcher was hearty and energetic. The latter succeeded in getting a large auxiliary force from the Sioux on the strength of a prospect of plundering the Aricara villages. The opening attack by the Sioux was vigorous and determined. But from this point on, the conduct of Colonel Leavenworth was so vacillating and ineffectual, and apparently governed by such an undue estimate of the obstacles in his way, and such a dread of incurring any loss that he disgusted the Indian allies, forfeited their friendship and co-operation, and excited the contempt and amazement of the trappers and mountaineers. There is no reason to suppose that an assault on the towns would not have been successful, and, from every point of view, it was imperative upon Colonel Leavenworth to attempt it. Why had he come this great distance if it was not to inflict summary punishment upon these people? Instead of doing so he fairly begged them for peace, and after having completed a treaty, which he was compelled to write himself because the duly constituted officers of the government flatly refused to participate in it, he next waived fulfillment of its one essential article.

The whole conduct of the fight, if such it can be called, had only served to detract from the credit of the national arms. How little effort was actually made to reduce the villages is apparent from the lack of casualties. It is, of course, no proof of bad management that an officer brings his men out of action without loss of life—rather quite the reverse, if he has accomplished his purpose. But when a whole day's attack upon a fortified town held by six hundred able-bodied warriors results in only slightly wounding two of the assailants, it is evident that the attack could not have been very efficient. Such a result is hardly compatible with Colonel Leavenworth's account of the "galling fire" to which his command was, on at least one occasion, subjected.

In regard to the Aricaras, Colonel Leavenworth's impression, that they were "completely humbled," was wholly errone-

ous. Even while the treaty was going on, and immediately afterward, proof of their bad faith was patent to every one. They failed to carry out the principal article of the treaty and virtually repudiated the whole contract by deserting their villages in the very presence of the troops. In "orders" issued to the regiment, August 29th, upon the return of the expedition to Fort Atkinson, Colonel Leavenworth said: "The blood of our countrymen has been honorably avenged, the Aricaras humbled, and in such manner as will teach them and other Indian tribes to respect the American name and character." Such was not the opinion of those conversant with the facts. The affair was then considered a complete fiasco, and its fame as such persisted in tradition until the details were wholly forgotten. Ten years afterward Maximillian thus referred to it: "The inhabitants of the banks of the Missouri affirm that this enterprise was conducted with very little energy; they retired from the enemy's villages without destroying them or doing much injury to the inhabitants, at which the allied Indians especially were much dissatisfied. The Aricaras, on the other hand, became extremely arrogant, and henceforth attacked and murdered all white men who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way."

Scarcely had Colonel Leavenworth read his orders to the troops at Fort Atkinson when several trappers were massacred by these Indians near the Mandan villages. In the following winter several were killed by them in the valley of the Platte, and similar outrages were of frequent occurrence for many years thereafter. It is true that General Atkinson, in 1825, found them humble and peaceably inclined, but his visit was in company with a formidable military force. The history of the twenty years following this affair, far from justifying the hopeful predictions of Colonel Leavenworth, were rather a literal fulfillment of the despondent prophecy of Major Pilcher in a letter to Benjamin O'Fallon within a week after the troops left the Aricara villages. "It is my sincere and candid opinion," he wrote, "that the expedition against the Aricaras, from which so much service might have been rendered to this dwindling and bleeding commerce, will rather tend to increase, than diminish, the evil ; that the situation of affairs in this country is worsted materially; that instead of raising the American character in the estimation of its inhabitants and impressing them with the power and spirit

of our government, the contrary effect has been produced; and that the outrages of the Indians will increase in consequence. That a most unfavorable impression has been left upon the minds of our Indian allies, is a fact that I am sorry to communicate."

It is difficult to fathom the motives which actuated Colonel Leavenworth in this campaign. It was not lack of courage, for his excellent record was evidence against any such theory. It is probable that lie felt alarmed at the responsibility that he had voluntarily assumed. He might reasonably doubt that his superiors would approve of his action in taking so large a command to so great a distance simply to punish an outrage against a party of traders and trappers. The lamentable accident in the wreck of the keel boat doubtless increased his anxiety and made him doubly anxious to achieve the object of the expedition without further loss. Finally, lie may have distrusted his Indian allies, and even the trappers and mountaineers, and have feared that a successful assault of the villages might have ended in a massacre of its inhabitants. He was well aware that such a result would have raised a storm back in the states, where the circumstances would be imperfectly understood. It is only from considerations of this character that it is possible to explain his conduct at the Aricara towns, and his deliberate choice of a course which could not fail to tarnish his reputation and bring down the contempt of the Indians upon the American arms.

One of the most regrettable features of the whole affair was the feeling of bitter animosity that was engendered between Colonel Leavenworth and Joshua Pilcher. Both were men of high character and unblemished reputation. Colonel Leavenworth had already won enviable distinction in his country's service, particularly in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara Falls in the war of 1812. Ile was a true soldier and a good officer, and, whatever may have been his error of judgment in the present case, there was no suspicion that he acted from any but the most disinterested motives.

Mr. Pilcher was one of the ablest of the traders and had succeeded Manuel Lisa in the presidency of the Missouri Fur Company. His character was above reproach ; lie was well informed, and his opinions on natters relating to the Indian trade were more than once sought by the government. He had apparently joined the expedition purely from a desire to help punish the

Aricaras, for, as he had now withdrawn all of his establishments above the Sioux, he was not protecting his own interests to the same extent that Ashley was. Leavenworth was highly pleased with him up to the time when he began his negotiations for peace. He says in one of his reports : "Allow me to say that up to this time I had been very well pleased with Mr. Pilcher in every respect, particularly as sub-agent. He had neglected no opportunity to be serviceable to the expedition and had done everything in his power to ensure its success."

Colonel Leavenworth's decision to negotiate peace without a victory excited the indignation of Pilcher, who had just seen his Sioux auxiliaries draw off in disgust at the failure to accomplish anything. He refused to be a party to the treaty, and probably did all that he could to cause this part of the proceedings to fail. His conduct naturally aroused the ire of Colonel Leavenworth, who considered him bound to obey orders as long as lie was attached to the command. The burning of the villages after the troops had left, was at once attributed by Colonel Leavenworth to Pilcher, but it was probably one of Pilcher's men, William Gordon. Pilcher positively denied being a party to the act, and disclaimed any knowledge of who the guilty party was, at the same time intimating that in his opinion the act was altogether justifiable. .

Colonel Leavenworth added fuel to the flame of discord by issuing an order on the day of departure from the Aricara towns, in which he directly charged the Missouri Fur Company with the destruction of the villages, and declared that, "with such men lie would have no further intercourse." From this ban of displeasure he excepted Major Henry Vanderburgh and Moses B. Carson. But these gentlemen would not accept the colonel's indulgence, and wrote to Pilcher on the day following, that they felt "extremely mortified at having been selected as the object of his (Leavenworth's) approbation and praise." Pilcher himself was enraged at Leavenworth's order, and permitted his indignation to get the better of his judgment entirely. On the 23rd of August, at Fort Recovery, he addressed a letter to Colonel Leavenworth, which, whatever truth it might contain, was couched in such violent and abusive language as to produce the opposite effect upon the public from what was intended. His provocation was indeed great, and he was not a man given to

the mincing of words, but he ought at least to have refrained from personal abuse. He closed his letter with the following passage, in which, it must be acknowledged, there was more truth than the partisans of Colonel Leavenworth would have been willing to admit. "I am well aware," he wrote, "that humanity and philanthropy are mighty shields for you against those who are entirely ignorant of the disposition and character of Indians, but with those who have experienced the fatal and ruinous consequence of their treachery and barbarity these considerations will avail nothing. You came to restore peace and tranquillity to the country and to leave an impression which would insure its continuance. Your operations have been such as to produce the contrary effect, and to impress the different Indian tribes with the greatest possible contempt for the American character. You came (to use your own language) to 'open and make good this great road'; instead of which you have, by the imbecility of your conduct and operations, created and left impassable barriers." (American Fur Trade, pages 600 et seq.)

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EXPLANATORY NOTES ON
OffiCial Correspondence of Leavenworth Expedition
By DOANE ROBINSON

"The American Fur Trade of the Far West," by Capt. Hiram Martin Chittenden, U. S. A., three volumes; New York, Francis P. Harper, \$10.

Fort Atkinson, frequently called Council Bluffs, was located on the west bank of the Missouri, upon the site of the present town of Calhoun, Nebraska, sixteen miles north of Omaha. It was here that Lewis and Clarke held the council with the Omahas, which gave the name to the bluffs and to the region.

'William Henry Ashley was born in 1778 in Powhatan county, Virginia, and located in St. Louis in 1802. He engaged in various business enterprises, including mining, powder-making and banking. He was active in organizing the militia and held several places of command. When the state was organized in 1820 he was elected lieutenant governor. He was a member of congress from 1831 to 1837 and was considered, next to Senator Benton, Missouri's most influential citizen. He became a partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1822, and, though his early enterprises were disastrous, he ultimately met with great success and amassed wealth. He died March 26th, 1838.

'The Auricara, Arickara, Rickara, Riccara, Riccarree, or Ree Indians belong to the Caddoan family and are allied to the Pawnees, Wichitas, etc. They originally occupied the Missouri Valley from the mouth of the White River north to the Mandan country. About 1792 they were driven by the Teton Sioux away from their homes and farms in the vicinity of Pierre and took up their last independent stand six miles north of the mouth of the Grand River, on the west bank of the Missouri. At that period they numbered about 350 families and approximately 2,500 souls. Their conduct toward the whites had, from the beginning, been exceedingly erratic. Lewis and Clarke found them affable and purchased from them a large quantity of corn, beans and melons; but in 1807, when Sergeant Pryor, of the Lewis and Clarke company, attempted to pass their villages to return Big White, the Mandan chief, to his tribe, they treacherously attacked him and killed several of his party. Pryor was accompanied by Pierre Chouteau and a company of trappers. The fight

was a savage one; Chouteau lost three men killed and seven wounded. Three of Pryor's men were wounded, and they were compelled to return to Saint Louis without accomplishing the object of their trip. When the Astorians came up, in 1811, the Rees were very friendly and traded with them on the best of terms, but the trappers regarded them with suspicion at all times, and they justly won the bad distinction of being the most treacherous band on the Missouri. They lived in permanent homes, built of poles and earth, and cultivated the soil, growing considerable quantities of corn and pulse. (See Dr. D. W. Robinson's note upon this tribe in this volume.) They called themselves Sanish or Tanish, meaning "The People." They at present number about 500 people, and are incorporated with the Mandans of Fort Berthold.

General Henry Leavenworth was born in Connecticut, December 10, 1783, and was a lawyer. When the second war with England came on he entered the military service in April, 1812, as captain of the Twentyfifth United States infantry; was breveted lieutenant colonel for distinguished services at the battle of Chippewa, and colonel for meritorious service at the battle of Niagara, and in 1824 was made brigadier general for ten years' faithful service. He died while upon duty, in Indian Territory, July 21, 1834. Much of his distinguished service was in the west. At least as early as 1818 he was sent to the Mississippi, and in that year was stationed at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and in the autumn of 1819 was ordered up the river to the mouth of the St. Peter, whither he went and laid the foundations of Fort Snelling. In the winter of 1820-21 he was relieved by Colonel Snelling, at Fort Snelling, and ordered to St. Louis, where he was placed in command of the forces upon the Missouri, and the next year went to Fort Atkinson. He was again in South Dakota in 1825 accompanying the Atkinson-O'Fallon commission on its treaty making expedition of 1825, and at Fort Pierre on July 4th of that year had charge of the patriotic exercises. Leavenworth is described as "a man of courage, good judgment and great humanity." He possessed a strong will, which carried him forward where other men hesitated or turned back. Catlin, who was with him but a few days before his death at his camp on the False Wichita, where he was suffering from a fever which was epidemic among the soldiers and from which several were dying each day, writes of his conduct: "At the time I am writing the general lies pallid and emaciated before me on the couch with a dragoon fanning him, whilst he breathes forty or fifty times a minute and writhes under a burning fever, although he is yet unwilling even to admit that he is sick." In that condition Leavenworth, with characteristic persistence, moved forward fifty or sixty miles before he gave up and died. The object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of his death was to cultivate the acquaintance and secure the friendship of the Pawnees and Comanches, and thus protect the growing commerce of the Santa Fe trail.

General Henry Atkinson was a native of North Carolina and entered the military service in 1808, as captain in the Third Infantry.. Served with distinction in the war of 1812 and spent the remainder of his life in

command upon the frontier. Four military posts were named for him. He visited the Dakota country in 1825, as commissioner to effect treaties of peace with the various tribes, and celebrated the 4th of July of that year at Fort Pierre. He died June 14, 1842.

This letter must have been written somewhere near the mouth of the Moreau.

The Missouri Fur Company-See note upon this company by Mr. Charles E. Deland, this volume.

The following letter, presented to this society by Mr. William L. Gardner, of Louisville, Ky., a grand-nephew of the John S. Gardner who was killed in this massacre, is all that I have been able to learn of the victims, except, of course, Hugh Glass, who was among the wounded. This letter was written to the father of John S. Gardner, who then resided in Virginia:

Dr Sir: My painfull duty it is to tell you of the deth of yr son wh befell at the hands of the indians 2d June in the early morning. He lived a little while after he was shot and asked me to inform you of his sad fate. We brought him to the ship when he soon died. Mr. Smith a young man of our company made a powerful prayr wh moved us allgreatly and I am persuaded John died in peace. His body we buried with others near this camp and marked the grave with a log. Histhings we will send to you. The savages are greatly treacherous. We traded with them as friends but after a great storm of rain and thunder they came at us before light and many were hurt. I myself was shot in the leg. Master Ashley is bound to stay in these parts till the traitors are rightly punished.

Yr Obt Svt

-Hugh Glass.

Hugh Glass himself was one of the most renowned of the hunters of the Missouri, and was the hero of more adventures than any other. It is not probable that he wrote this letter personally, for, from all accounts, he was illiterate. It is probable that he was an acquaintance of the Gardners and that he employed some clerk in the expedition to write for him.

Captain Chittenden has gathered several stories of the exploits of Glass in South Dakota, from which it appears that immediately after the battle at the Ree villages he started, as a hunter in the party headed by Major Henry for the mountains, traveling up the valley of Grand River. Upon the fifth day, Glass being in advance of the party, he was attacked and horribly mangled by a grizzly bear, but, retaining his nerve, he succeeded in shooting the animal just as the remainder of the party came to his rescue. He seemed to be injured beyond all hope of recovery, and, as Major Henry's business was urgent, he left him in charge of two men, said to have been Fitzgerald and Bridger, both famous frontiersmen. They remained with him for several days, but as he neither recovered nor died, they abandoned him, and, overtaking Henry, reported that they had buried him after his death. Glass was so exasperated by the treachery of these men that he resolved to live for the sake of revenge, and after many days, during which he lived upon wild cherries and buffalo berries, he felt well enough to start to Fort Kiowa, which was located near Chamberlain. He was at the point of starvation, but provi-

dentially came upon a band of wolves that had killed a buffalo calf, and, driving them away from their quarry, he supplied his own needs and carried enough away with him to last him until he reached the fort. Almost immediately he embarked with a party bound for the headwaters of the river, but at the Mandan villages all of the party were massacred by the Rees except Glass, who fortunately had left the boat to hunt across the bend to Fort Tilton. Before arriving at the fort, however, he was attacked by the Rees, and rescued from them by friendly Mandans. He succeeded in reaching Henry, on the Yellowstone, late in February, 1824, where his appearance was as startling to his friends as if arisen from the dead, but to his chagrin the men who deserted him in the Dakota land had gone down the river to Fort Atkinson (Omaha). Nothing daunted, he accepted service as a messenger to carry dispatches to Fort Atkinson, and, to avoid the Rees, crossed the country from the Yellowstone to the Platte; but they (he was accompanied by four men) had just embarked on the latter stream when they fell in with Grey Eyes' band of the Rees, who, since the Leavenworth fight, had been roaming in this country. His comrades were killed, and Glass escaped with the loss of his firearms, but, equipped with only his knife and flint, he made his way to Fort Kiowa and thence to Fort Atkinson, where he found his men enlisted in the army. Thus protected, he dared not carry out his threats against them, but the commandant fitted him out with a new equipment and he abandoned the idea of revenge. He was killed by his old enemies, the Rees, while crossing the Yellowstone River on the ice in the winter of 1832-3. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and was called an old man as early as 1824.

Ashley's camp, from which Glass' letter was written, was located near the mouth of the Cheyenne, being the temporary camp where his men waited the arrival of Leavenworth's command.

Major Andrew Henry was present and took an active part in the battle of August 10th against the Riccaras. He was one of the earliest and most energetic of the fur traders. He was one of the founders of the Missouri Fur Company of 1808, and in 1810 led a party to the headwaters of the Missouri for that company and bore the brunt of the terrible struggle with the Blackfeet, at the Three Forks, to whom he was compelled to capitulate, and, crossing the mountains, established a post on a tributary of the Snake River and was therefore the first American to carry business to the Pacific slope. The next year he returned to St. Louis and engaged in mining. In 1822 he associated with General Ashley in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and went at once to the Yellowstone, where he spent the following winter, and whither General Ashley was en route to join him, when the Rees massacre interrupted his plans in June, 1823. Being apprised by Jedediah Smith of the massacre of Ashley's party, Henry at once brought the most of his men down the river and joined the remnant of Ashley's men at the mouth of the Cheyenne, where they remained until Leavenworth came up, when they volunteered for the campaign against their enemies, the Rees. Immediately after the fight, Henry, with a party of seventy men, returned to the mountains by

the route up Grand River. In 1824 he withdrew from the fur business, and, returning to Missouri, took up his residence in Washington county, where he died January 10, 1832, having served in congress from 1826 to 1830. He left one son, Patrick Henry, who died in 1898.

Major Henry was a man of sterling integrity, who constantly refused to resort to the underhanded methods in vogue among the fur traders for injuring his business competitors. Captain Chittenden bears this testimony to his character: - "He was one time well off, but lost his money by becoming surety for defaulting debtors. Urged to put his property in his wife's name to avoid loss, he indignantly repelled the suggestion, preferring to live a poor man rather than a dishonest one. He is described as tall and slender, yet of commanding presence, with dark hair and light eyes inclined to blue. He was fond of reading and played the violin well. He was not a member of any church, but was a believer in the Christian religion. He was evidently a man of acts rather than words, and no letter, or recorded expression of his, has come down to us."

"**Benjamin O'Fallon** was the government agent having in charge the Indian affairs upon the Missouri River, with headquarters at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs. In 1825 he was associated with General Atkinson for the negotiation of the treaties of peace and amity with all the western tribes, and in that capacity visited the South Dakota country.

"**General William H. Ashley's License to trade with Indians up the Missouri.*** To all who shall see these presents, Greeting: Whereas, William H. Ashley, of the state of Missouri, having made application to the Department of War, for license to carry on trade with the Indians up the Missouri, and hath given bond, according to law, for the true and faithful observance, by him and his agents, of all singular, the regulations and restrictions as are or shall be made, for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes: Now, therefore, be it known, that the said William H. Ashley is hereby licensed to carry on trade with the Indians up the Missouri accordingly, for the term of one year from the date hereof, unless the license hereby granted should be sooner revoked.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office of
(L. S.) the United States, at the City of Washington, this
11th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1822.

By order of the President of the United States:

-J. C. Calhoun.

*(A license of precisely the same tenor and date was also granted to Major Andrew Henry.)

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, dated July 1, 1822. I have received a letter from Major O'Fallon, in which he states that he understands that a license has been granted to General Ashley and Major Henry, to trade, trap, and hunt, on the upper Missouri, and expresses a hope that limits have been prescribed to their trapping and hunting on Indian lands, as, he says, nothing is better calculated to alarm and dis-

turb the harmony so happily existing between us and the Indians in the vicinity of Council Bluffs.

The license which has been granted by this department, by order of the president, to General Ashley and Major Henry, confers the privilege of trading with the Indians only, as the laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes do not contain any authority to issue licenses for any other purpose. The privilege thus granted them, they are to exercise conformably to the laws and regulations that are, or shall be, made for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indians, for the true and faithful observance of which they have given bonds with sufficient security; consequently, it is presumed they will do no act not authorized by such laws and regulations, which would disturb the peace and harmony existing between the government and the Indians on the Missouri, but rather endeavor, by their regular and conciliatory conduct, to strengthen and confirm them.

13Caball Bluffs-This is an error, probably due to failure to correctly decipher careless handwriting. It certainly refers to the Cobalt Bluffs, as the chalk rock hills on the Nebraska shore one mile below Yankton were long called, through the mistaken impression of the early explorers that the hills contained deposits of cobalt. Patrick Gass, Hunt and Catlin each refer to these deposits. The exact point of the accident was doubtless off Smutty Bear's bottom, about one mile above Yankton, under the lee of Brouch's woods.

"William N. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, was appointed second lieutenant Sixth Infantry, September 20, 1819; promoted to first lieutenant August 27, 1822, and to captain, February 15, 1826. He resigned July 31, 1837.

"Samuel Stackpole was enlisted (place not stated) October 31, 1812, for five years. Born in Portsmouth, N. H.; age twenty-one years; occupation, mariner. Present in Captain N. S. Clark's company, Sixth United States Infantry, Governor's Island, N. Y., October 31, 1812; joined September 28, 1815, from Fourth United States Infantry, by regimental order, present February 29, 1816, to October 31, 1817; discharged at Plattsburg, N. Y., November 2, 1817, term of service expired, a sergeant. He reenlisted November 2, 1817, for five years, and was discharged November 2, 1822, by expiration of service, a sergeant, Company G, Sixth United States Infantry. He again re-enlisted November 2, 1822, in the same company, and died July 3, 1823.

Jedediah S. Smith. (See note 46.)

Cheyenne Rive r-"Shyan," an old form of spelling, was probably intended.

16Fort Brasseaux-This post was, according to the Indian tradition, located on the west bank of the Missouri near the mouth of White River, and was owned by Antoine Brasseaux, of St. Louis, who was probably allied with the American Fur Company. Captain Chittenden thinks this post may have been located farther north, in the neighborhood of old Fort Lookout. Brasseaux married an Indian woman and left several

descendants on the river. The wife of Brasseaux later became the wife of Primeau, the trader, who, in the early sixties, was established near Fort Pierre.

"See Dr. D. IV. Robinson's note upon the Mandans, this volume.

"See Dr. Robinson's note.

'Fort Recovery was located upon the lower end of American Island, opposite Chamberlain. It was the property of the Missouri Fur Company and was built in 1822. Portions of the stockade were still standing as late as 1880.

"Major Wooley-See note 41.

"Major Ketchem-See note 42.

2"William Gordon, one of the attaches of the Missouri Fur Company, has left his name indelibly impressed upon the west as one of the fearless frontiersmen who was undaunted by any of the terrors of the river or trail. He served in Pilcher's brigade with the rank of second lieutenant. The letter to Pilcher indicates that he was a man of intelligence and some learning.

"Jones and Immel-Captain Chittenden says of these men: "The names of these two men are almost always seen together, for the reason that about all that is known of them is their connection with the expedition which ended in their tragic death on the Yellowstone in 1823." Benjamin O'Fallon thus refers to them in a letter to General Clark, dated July 7, 1823: "Jones (Robert) was a gentleman of cleverness and for many years a resident of St. Louis. * * * Immel (Michael) has been a long time on the river; formerly an officer in the U. S. A.; since then an Indian trader of some distinction. In some respects he was extraordinary. He was brave, uncommonly large, and of great muscular strength. When timely apprised of danger he was a host in himself. This may be the same Immel who was associated with Valle as a free hunter on the Upper Missouri in 1810."

"Keemle-I find no other reference to this man.

"Council Bluffs-See note 2, relating to Fort Atkinson.

"Joshua Pilcher, whom Captain Chittenden describes as a man of good ability, strict integrity of character and high standing in business and social circles, was born at Culpepper, Virginia, March 15, 1790, and came to St. Louis during the war of 1812. He engaged in the fur trade as well as other enterprises; was a director of the bank of St. Louis and succeeded the renowned Manuel Lisa as president of the Missouri Fur Company. In 1838 he became the government superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, and held the position until his death in 1847.

"Mr. Charlonnau was an attache of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and was Major Andrew Henry's interpreter to the Arickaras.

"William Armstrong, of Ohio, was appointed ensign, Rifle Regiment, January 19, 1813; promoted to third lieutenant March 12, 1813; to second

lieutenant January 24, 1814; to first lieutenant October 1, 1816, and to captain July 61, 1818. He was transferred to the Sixth Infantry June 1, 1821, and died February 11, 1827.

2'Bennett Riley, of Maryland, was appointed ensign, Rifle Regiment, January 19, 1813; promoted to third lieutenant March 12, 1813; to second lieutenant April 15, 1814; to first lieutenant March 31, 1817, and to captain August 6, 1818. He was transferred to the Fifth Infantry June 1, 1821; transferred to Sixth Infantry October 3, 1821; promoted to major, Fourth Infantry, September 26, 1837; to lieutenant colonel, Second Infantry, December 1, 1839, and to colonel, First Infantry, January 31, 1850. He was breveted major August 6, 1828, for tgn years' faithful service in one grade, and colonel June 2, 1840, the date of the battle of Chokachatta, Fla., "in which he particularly distinguished himself by bravery and good conduct," and for long, meritorious and gallant service; brigadier general April 18, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico, and major general August 20, 1847, for gallant conduct at the battle of Contreras, Mexico. He died June 9, 1853.

"John Gale, of New Hampshire, was appointed surgeon's mate, Twenty-third Infantry, July 6, 1812, and promoted to surgeon, Thirty-fourth Infantry, August 31, 1814. He was honorably discharged, on reduction. of the army, June 15, 1815; was reinstated as surgeon's mate, Third Infantry, September 13, 1815, and promoted to be surgeon, Rifle Regiment, April 18, 1818. He was appointed major and surgeon (in the staff) June 1, 1821. He died July 27, 1830.

"Nicholas Cruger, of New York (not Conger), was a cadet at the United States military academy from July 26, 1815, to July 1, 1820, when graduated and appointed second lieutenant, Second Infantry; transferred to Seventh Infantry July 15, 1820, and transferred to Sixth Infantry July 25, 1820; promoted to first lieutenant February 28, 1823, and to captain February 11, 1827; resigned October 31, 1827. He died June 3, 1868.

3"Thomas Noel, of Maryland, was a cadet at the United States military academy August 5, 1814, to July 1, 1820, when graduated and appointed second lieutenant, Sixth Infantry; promoted to first lieutenant April 16, 1823; to captain May 1, 1827, and to major, Seventh Infantry, May 9, 1846. He was breveted major December 25, 1837, for gallant conduct in the battle of Kissimmee, Florida. He died August 14, 1848.

"William W. Morris, of New York, was a cadet at the United States military academy March 17, 1815, to July 1, 1820, when graduated and appointed second lieutenant, Sixth infantry; promoted to first lieutenant August 11, 1823; transferred to Fourth Artillery July 30, 1824; promoted to captain December 17, 1836; to major November 4, 1853; to lieutenant colonel May 14, 1861, and to colonel, Second Artillery, November 1, 1861. He was breveted major January 27, 1837, for gallant conduct on several occasions, and general efficiency in the war against the Florida Indians; brigadier general June 9, 1862, for faithful and meritorious service, and major general December 10, 1865, for faithful and meritorious services during the rebellion. He died December 11, 1865.

"William H. Vanderburgh, known in most of the stories of the west as Henry Vanderburgh, was born in Vincennes, Indiana, late in the eighteenth century, and was killed by Indians on Madison River, in what is now Montana, on October 14, 1832. He was a partisan of the American Fur Company and a most efficient leader of the mountain trappers. He came of revolutionary stock and had, himself, taken a short course of instruction at the national military academy at West Point. At the battle of the Ree villages he bore the nominal rank of captain of the company, tendered by the Missouri Fur Company under Mr. Pilcher, and was, therefore, among the first officers of the first volunteer soldiers ever enlisting for service in the South Dakota region.

"Grey Eyes, the chief of the Rees at the period of the conquest, was a cunning and unscrupulous warrior of unquestionable ability and courage. He was not an hereditary chief, but had won his position by energy and force of character. It is said he kept his people in terror of him. Irving relates of him that in 1811, when the villages were visited by Hunt with his Astoria party, when the real chief, The Left Handed, had declared that it was impossible for the Rees to spare so many horses as Mr. Hunt desired to purchase, Grey Eyes promptly came forward with "an honest expedient for bridging the difficulty." "If we have not enough horses," he said, "we easily can steal more."

"For this expense account see Colonel Leavenworth's final report, this volume.

"Fort Snelling-Colonel Leavenworth built that fort in 1819-20.

"Mr. Pratte-A merchant of St. Louis, partner in the American Fur Company, and of Pierre Chouteau.

"Yankton Indians-A tribe of the Dakota Sioux claiming all of the country between the Sioux and Missouri rivers, as far north as a line drawn approximately from Lake Kampeska to the mouth of Medicine Creek below Pierre.

"Teton Indians-Literally "people of the prairie," and embraced all the tribes of the Dakotans west of the Missouri.

"Abram R. Wooley, of New Jersey, was appointed captain and deputy commissary of ordnance December 4, 1812; promoted major of ordnance February 9, 1815; transferred to Seventh Infantry June 1, 1821; transferred to Sixth Infantry March 11, 1823, and promoted to lieutenant colonel December 16, 1825. He was breveted lieutenant colonel, to date February 9, 1825, for ten years' faithful service in one grade. He was dismissed May 1, 1829.

"Daniel Ketchum, of Connecticut, was appointed second lieutenant, Twenty-fifth Infantry, July 6, 1812; promoted to be first lieutenant March 13, 1813, and to be captain September 30, 1813; transferred to Sixth Infantry May 17, 1815. He was breveted major July 25, 1814, for distinguished service in the battle of Niagara Falls, Upper Canada. He died August 30, 1828.

"Fort Kiowa-A post of the American Fur Company, built in 1822, or earlier, on the west bank of the Missouri, ten miles above Chamberlain; was near the site of old Fort Lookout.

"Sciones (Siounes)-A band of Teton Sioux residing on the Teton River.

'Ankapat (Uncapapas)-The band of Teton Sioux now residing at Standing Rock agency. For further and fuller information relating to these various tribes and bands see Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson's exhaustive notes upon Dr. Blackburn's history in this volume.

"Jedediah Smith was one of the most notable characters of the entire frontier. He was a native of New York and came to St. Louis and entered the employ of General Ashley in the spring of 1823, being then but eighteen years of age. After the massacre, on the morning of June 2, he volunteered to carry news of the disaster to Major Henry, who was on the Yellowstone, and before starting made a prayer on the deck of the Yellowstone, which was the first recorded act of worship in South Dakota. He succeeded in reaching Henry and then returned down the river in a boat, passing Fort Atkinson -on July 8th and going on to St. Louis. He returned up river and is supposed to have been a participant in the battle of the 10th of August; this, however, is not certain. General Ashley was greatly impressed with the bravery of the boy in undertaking the hazardous mission to Henry, from which the more experienced plainsmen shrank, and it may be that he gave him the commission as nominal captain of this company as a mark of honor, though he was absent. Captain Chittenden thinks it would have been possible for Smith to have made the trip indicated within the time limit and have been present at the battle. General Atkinson did not report the arrival of Smith in St. Louis, with news from Leavenworth until August 15th, and as the authorities were manifestly exceedingly anxious about the welfare of the expedition, it is fair to assume that Atkinson wrote Gaines of Smith's arrival as soon as he reached the city. If this conclusion is sound, then it was not possible for Smith to have been present and taken part in the battle of August 10th-12th. He steadily grew in the esteem of Ashley and of his associates, and when Ashley retired from business, in 1826, he transferred his interests to Smith, Sublette & Jackson, though Smith at that time was not twenty-two years of age. Smith was always enterprising, and immediately attempted to extend the fur trade into the California country and made two trips there, spending a winter upon American Fork of the Sacramento, which took its name from that fact. He experienced great hardships, but came through them all with undaunted spirit, until, in 1831, when in his twenty-seventh year, he was killed by the Comanches on the Cimarron River, far down on the Santa Fe trail.

Of him Mr. William Waldo, quoted by Captain Chittenden, says: "Smith was a bold, outspoken, professing and consistent Christian, the first and only one known among the early Rocky Mountain trappers and hunters. No one who knew him well doubted the sincerity of his piety.

He had become a communicant of the Methodist church before leaving his home in New York, and in St. Louis he never failed to occupy a place in the church of his choice, while he gave generously to all objects connected with the religion which he professed and loved. Besides being a hero, a trader and a Christian, he was himself inclined to literary pursuits and had prepared a geography and atlas of the Rocky Mountain region, extending perhaps to the Pacific, but his death occurred before its publication."

Hiram Scott-Little is known of this man, who must have occupied a high position in the esteem of General Ashley to have been placed in command of a company under the circumstances. He was a clerk in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and six or seven years later fell ill out on the Oregon trail and was deserted by his companions and left to die. He crept forty miles before he gave up, and the next spring his remains were found at the bluffs out in western Nebraska which still bear his name.

"-"**George C. Jackson**-Captain Chittenden thinks this is an error and that David E. Jackson, the junior partner in the firm of Smith, Sublette & Jackson, who succeeded General Ashley as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, was the person referred to. He was active on the frontier, and his name has been preserved in "Jackson's Hole," a favorite rendezvous of the trapper in the mountains. This "hole" is really a beautiful valley in western Wyoming.

"**Edward Rose** was one of the men who was notable upon the frontier in the early part of the nineteenth century. His father was white and his mother a half-breed Cherokee and negro. Irving says that in his early years Rose was a pirate upon the lower Mississippi, but, being driven from that locality, he found an asylum in the fur camps of the upper Missouri. At any rate, he bore a hard name. In 1811 Hunt employed him as a guide to lead his Astorians through the mountains, which he reached by passing up Grand River and, when well on his way, was almost overwhelmed with fear lest Rose should betray him to the Crow Indians, with whom he had an alliance. Rose, however, faithfully performed his mission, and Leavenworth, too, appears to have found him trustworthy, and Atkinson and O'Fallon employed him as an interpreter in 1825 when upon their treaty-making expedition. Later he was with the Crows and was called a "Crow Chief." He was known to be there as late as 1834. How he came to his death is not known, but he is buried on the bank of the Missouri, opposite the mouth of Milk River.

"**Thomas Fitzpatrick** was a partner of General Ashley in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Later in life he was well known as a guide, fully conversant with the western country, and was frequently employed by the government.

"**William L. Sublette** was one of four brothers, all distinguished as plainsmen and in the fur trade, William being the most successful and best known. He was born in Kentucky in 1799 and died at forty-

six years of age, being, at his death, one of the wealthiest men in the west. He came onto the river in 1818 and soon after entered the fur trade, continuing in it until 1842, when he retired with a fortune and at once attempted to make a political career. In 1844 he secured the Democratic nomination for congress, but was defeated. He then became a candidate for commissioner of Indian affairs and was en route to Washington, doubtless upon this business, when he was stricken down at Pittsburg with his fatal illness. He is buried at Bellfontaine cemetery, St. Louis. Captain Chittenden gives this interesting and romantic anecdote of his marriage to Miss Frances Hereford, of Tuscombia, Alabama, on March 21, 1844: "It is said that the lady had formed a previous attachment for William's younger brother, Solomon P., but that William's greater fortune turned the scale in his favor. When William died, soon after his marriage, he willed his property to her on condition that she should not change her name. Four years after her husband's death she married her first love, Solomon P."

Sublette appears to have been a rather unscrupulous money maker, and exceedingly ambitious. Even his brothers, or at least his brother Milton, was compelled to pay tribute to his greed for wealth, and for several years William L. so managed his business as to successfully milk the firm of Fitzpatrick, Sublette & Bridger, of which Milton was a member, of a large portion of their hard-earned profits, and his successful effort to prevail upon his brother's firm to repudiate their contract with Nathaniel Weyth to supply them with goods, and which goods Weyth had at great hazard conveyed to the agreed rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains, indicates the unscrupulousness of his methods.

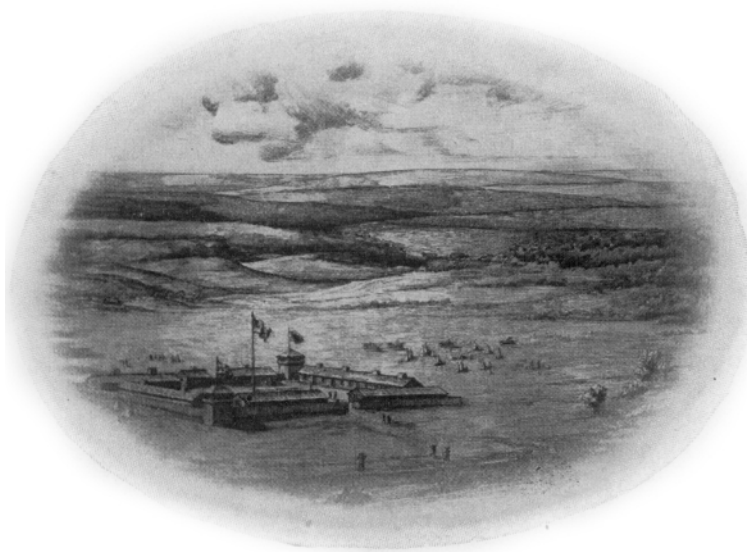
"William H. Vandeburgh-See note 34.

"Carson-This was probably Alexander Carson, who was an active member of Hunt's Astoria party in 1811. If so, he was an old hunter who was picked up by Hunt in the vicinity of Yankton and induced to return to the mountains, with which he was thoroughly familiar, and later was, by Hunt, placed in charge of one of the detached parties of hunters in the mountains. It may, however, have been Moses Carson, of St. Louis, who was a member of the Missouri Fur Company, in the reorganization of 1819.

"William Gordon-See Note 22.



Pierre Chouteau, Jr.



Old Fort Pierre
(From a painting owned by Charles E. DeLand)